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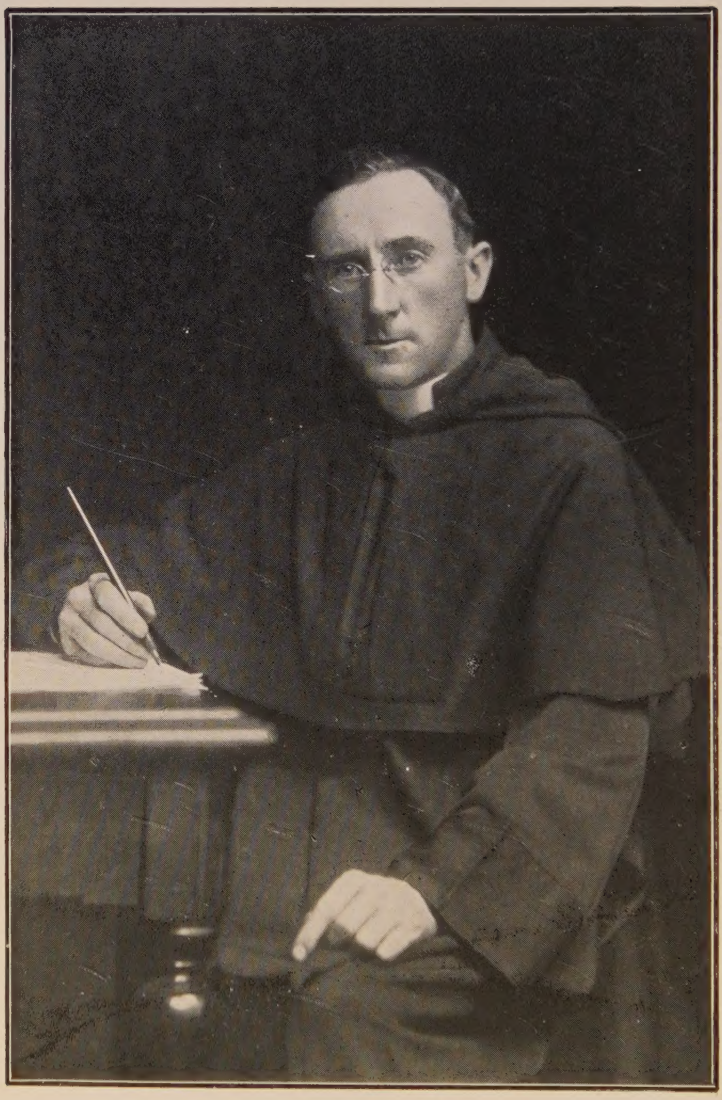

REV. P. R. McCAFFREY, Ord. Carm.

THE WHITE FRIARS

AN OUTLINE CARMELITE HISTORY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PROVINCES

BY

REV. P. R. McCAFFREY, ORD. CARM.,

(*Of the Irish Province*)

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

THE MOST REV. P. E. MAGENNIS,

Ord. Carm., Prior-General

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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Zelo zelatus sum pro Domino Deo Exercitum.
With zeal have I been zealous for the Lord God of Hosts.

Motto of the Carmelite Order.

Fair flower of Carmel,
Bloom-bearing vine,
God's splendid marvel—
Maiden with child,
The One peerless She;

Oh! Mother mild
Yet ever Virgin,
Grant to thy child
The Carmelite guerdon,
Thou Star of the Sea.

Prayer composed by St. Simon Stock, in honour of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, on the occasion of the Scapular Vision, 16th of July, 1251.

Carmelite Coat-of-Arms.

PREFACE

Eight centuries ago, that is, previous to the Palestinian Legation of Aymeric of Malafay, the hermits of Mount Carmel were unknown outside the Holy Land. In 1212 they first immigrated to Britain, their communities having been decimated and dispersed by the Saracens. Here the Order of White Friars was born to a new life, and, during three hundred years of undiminished vigour, wrote its name large on the pages of mediaeval history by the lustre of great achievements.

Then came the Protestant Reformation. With Vesuvian suddenness it swept away every obstacle to its laval destructiveness. The fruitful vineyard of the White Friars was converted into a blackened waste, and the Carmelite name was known no more.

The history of a powerful religious order was buried in the ashes, and none was found in four hundred years to attempt the well-nigh hopeless task of delving after the possible fragmentary remnants, of piecing them together, and offering the mosaic to the world as a relic of the historic past. That is the difficult task we have undertaken. If the mosaic is incomplete, and we are conscious that it is so, the enthusiast can only plead that his research was as exhaustive as the circumstances allowed. The archaeologists deals only with known existing remains and deductions therefrom.

We offer our work as the foundation for further research, hoping that much may yet be unearthed that has escaped our observation.

Our sincerest thanks are due to the many friends who have lent their aid in a variety of ways, especially to

Mr. Purnell, Librarian, Public Library, Adelaide, Australia, and the Librarians of the Vatican and the English and Irish Public and University Libraries, because of the facilities they afforded us for reading and their valuable aid in discovering sources; to the Rev. Dr. Stokes, D.D., Lit.D., Little Wilbraham Rectory, Cambridge, for the use of the interesting correspondence between himself and the late Father Rushe, O.D.C.; to T. F. Tickner, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Little Park Street, Coventry, for the loan of his erudite paper dealing with the Coventry Monastery; to A. W. Clapham, Esq., and the Council of the British Archaeological Association for permission to reproduce the interesting reconstructive plan of White Friars, London; to the Very Rev. Father Lambe, O.D.C., for generous hospitality on Mount Carmel and valuable information; and to all others to whom we may stand indebted for their encouragement and help.

Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel,
16th July, 1926.

FOREWORD

No complete and satisfactory history of the Carmelite Order has thus far been published in the English language. We might add, that which is more to be regretted, there is no complete and satisfactory history of any one of the Provinces that once flourished in Europe. Attempts have been made, from time to time, by some of the friars themselves to save from oblivion the deeds of their spiritual ancestors, but, for one or another reason, no real record has been handed down to us. If we except the Holy Land, the cradle of the Order, and perhaps too the island of Sicily, no Province has been of such import to the Order of Mount Carmel as England. Nevertheless, the records that have been preserved are in no way commensurate with the place occupied for several centuries by the Friars in the religious and civil life of the nation. No doubt the religious upheaval in the sixteenth century may account for the disappearance of many valuable documents, for the vandalism of the fanatics was intense as well as thorough. The libraries of the Carmelites, especially that of Whitefriars in London, were an enormous loss not only to the Order but to the history of Europe. The English Fathers of the Order were in a favorable position to get at, and retain, many precious manuscripts, and that they availed of the occasions presenting themselves we may not doubt, for, here and there, we may glean from remarks and references in manuscripts and books isolated facts which convince us of the wealth of the libraries and the care bestowed on the purchase and preservation of their valuable contents.

The generations that followed might have tolerated with less impatience the vandalism of the reformers if some learned scribe had collected into a continued narrative the facts enshrined in the manuscripts. For some reason this was not done, hence, to-day we lament the scanty history of the Order in England. It is to be noted that both the recent writers on the history of the Order, especially in England and Ireland, begin their welcome, even though meagre, accounts with apologies for want of material and the difficulty in arriving at facts which should have mention, but have not, in contemparary authorities.

The two writers to whom we refer in the preceding paragraph, namely, Father Zimmerman and Father Rushe, have confined themselves, at least to a great extent, to the history of the Fathers of the Reform. As a matter of fact the glory had already passed from Carmel in England ere the first Teresian Father came to England, hence, the records of those good Fathers give us no idea of the power and might of Carmel in the life of the English people. The same may be said of Carmel in Ireland; and with equal truth of Carmel in Scotland. It is then with more than passing interest and expectation that we turn to the pages of Father McCaffrey in hope that we may find in them something that will recall the glory of the past; something that will give us an idea of what the Carmelite Friar has done for civilisation and progress in the nations where the spiritual descendants of those old pioneers of Carmel are to-day struggling to take a place in the life of those nations and to contribute their meed of religion and enlightenment. Such is the constitution of man that the story of the past, especially if it be a glorious one, inspires and enthuses the readers when they have common cause with those who " did and dared " in the years now distant. Father McCaffrey is forced to

begin his contribution with the same lamentation as his historical predecessors, namely, he deplores the absence of material, nevertheless, he gives us much that is interesting and not a little that must convince the reader that the Carmelites were a power in the nations of which he treats. The facts that he lays before us are instructive indeed, and, from the perusal of them, one gains certain, if not ample, information. Above all one is moved to a sincere desire to know more of those Mendicant Friars who to all appearances dominated the religious and, to a certain degree, the civil life of the Middle Ages.

One great obstacle to a complete and satisfactory history of the Order or to any Province of it, was the constant warfare in which nearly all the best intellects of the Order were engaged, and unfortunately this warfare was rendered necessary just at the time when there was an unwonted activity of a literary nature amongst the members of the Order. Perusing the manuscripts and the volumes that gives us the subjects that claimed the attention of the Fathers during those golden years we find that their best efforts were directed to a defence of their antiquity—and precisely to that antiquity which cannot be of such interest to us to-day. Many a grim encounter took place to prove that the Carmelites of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries were the spiritual descendants of the great Prophet of Israel. It was alright to hold such doctrine on the Mount of Carmel—whence they came to Europe,—but to produce the written documents and to find the contemporary authors which should satisfy the contentious ecclesiastics of the West was quite another matter. But it was attempted; and it is not for us to say with what amount of success. At this distance of time we may marvel at the seeming waste of time on the part of the two bands of combatants, for to-day we are no nearer the solution

of the difficulty. Each historical critic may follow his own judgment without apportioning blame or praise to those old warriors of the quill who burned the midnight oil in what they at least conceived to be the cause of truth.

Later on we find many of the Fathers, who had been favored by nature with more than an ordinary amount of intellectual endowments, defending the devotions of the Order against attacks that were directly a challenge to the honesty of their predecessors. Sometimes from personal spite, sometimes from a desire to exercise the critical faculty at the expense of the simple devotions of the faithful, writers appeared in the literary arena and, as must ever happen, had an audience mostly formed from the ranks of those who despising the old are ever in quest of the new although possessing little genuine love of the truth. How many years were spent in those useless contests it would be difficult to say, but this much is sure, that the best intellects of the Order were engaged in a work they should never have been called upon to perform. We all have heard an hundred times the excuses put forward to defend the empty strictures of those so-called critics, but the value of them cannot be hidden from the eyes of the attentive student. However, there is one end that they achieved with tolerable success,—they have engaged the labors and the lives of the very men who were best suited to give us that which would be most pleasing to us, in these years, a complete and satisfactory history of the Carmelite Order.

An effort is being made by the Fathers of both the Old Regime and the Reform to supply the *lacunae* which lie in the way of every writer who desires to give a connected narrative of the Carmelite Order in Europe and every lover of Carmel will rejoice as each little *lacuna* is being filled up. Patient research and unceasing

industry can do much even though they may never bring back the priceless manuscripts that were destroyed in the Reformation times. Because we recognise in the present contribution of Father McCaffrey an honest effort to contribute his mite to the filling up process, we heartily welcome it. The labor of judiciously piecing together the many facts one can discover, here and there, in the many sources of information is just as valuable at the present moment as the discovering of new material or the unearthing of what has been laid to rest in the musty tomes of our libraries.

Every Carmelite as well as every historian will welcome this work and the fervent prayer will arise from every heart—" may others continue the work when the pen of the good Father is laid aside."

Fr. Elias Magennis,
Prior Gen. Ord. Carm.

Coll. S. Albert, Rome.

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THE WHITE FRIARS

GENERAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE PLACE OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN THE ECONOMY OF THE CHURCH

" Behold we have left all things and have followed thee : what therefore shall we have?

" And Jesus said to them : . . . . Every one that hath left house or brethren or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold and shall possess life everlasting " (*Matt.* xix, 27 and 29).

Asceticism was in vogue long before the Christian era. Great austerities have, from very early times, been fostered by various religious systems, such as Hinduism and Buddhism. Some of the Greek philosophers gave up their possessions that they might be care-free in the search for wisdom and virtue, as these pagans understood the terms. Habitual self-discipline was also practised by individuals, and even by communities, among the Jews. The Sons of the Prophets on and about Mount Carmel, formed a kind of community, owing obedience to the prophets Elias and Eliseus.

They led a life of severe discipline and great mortification. According to St. Isidore, they were the first to make profession of poverty and chastity. We learn from the Sacred Text that the very tools with which they worked were borrowed (IV *Kings*, vi, 5). When prophecy had yielded place to fulfilment the successors of the Sons of the Prophets became known as Rechabites, and, later, Essenes. The Essenes, founded in the second century before Christ, aimed at a high degree of spiritual perfection. They were, at a later period, *i.e.*, in the century preceding the Christian era, organised into a sort of monastic society, bound together by oaths to cultivate piety, justice, obedience, honesty, and secrecy. Josephus and Philo write of them in terms of admiration, telling us that they led a very austere life, eating only bread and vegetables and drinking no wine, and that they lived perpetually in the presence of God. They wore a white habit and lived in the greatest poverty. According to Philo their conduct was regulated by three rules—" the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man "—whilst the greatest number of them remained celibates. The Prophet Micheas, praying for his nation, overwhelmed by the misfortunes of the Captivity, makes a special plea for the preservation of this religious society : " Feed the flock of Thy inheritance, them that dwell alone in the forests in the midst of Carmel " (*Mic.* vii, 14). It is the venerable claim of the Carmelite Order that it is the Christian inheritor and immediate successor of this ascetical society of the Old Law, which continued its existence, now regulated by Christian principles and discipline, through the first ages of the Church down to the present. That, consequently, the origin of the monastic life must be sought in the origin of the Carmelites, and that St. Elias was the true founder of the religious life. " It is the sentiment of the holy

Fathers," writes Rupert,[1] "that Elias was the first author and institutor of the monastic life, and that his disciples, called the Sons of the Prophets, were the monks of the Old Testament."

In the middle of the third century many Christians, who had fled before the bitter persecutions of the Emperor Decius to the safety of the desert solitudes, were induced by the spirit and example of the Saviour to make there permanent abodes. Detached from the world and its allures, alone or in small groups in the vast expanses, they found themselves nearer to God, and devoted their lives to intense prayer, rigorous fasting, and unsparing penance. Paul of Thebes and St. Anthony were the principal leaders of this latest religious revival.

Man, however, is a gregarious animal, who needs the society and support of his fellow-man. Only the most heroic virtue could render such a life tolerable. It was not for the majority of even the saints. Again, there was much besides their personal sanctification to be accomplished by these spiritual giants. Their help was needed by the weaker ones of the flock of Christ. So the hermits came in from the Thebaid, in the valley of the Nile, bringing with them their high ideals of Christian Asceticism, to lay the foundations of the later cenobitical or monastic life.

In the relative solitude of the desert they had observed poverty, chastity, and obedience. Though not bound to the exercise of these virtues by vow, yet those who ceased to practise them were regarded as turning back having once "put their hand to the plough." But now that they were come back to closer communion with the world of men temptations were multiplied, and the chances of perseverance immensely lessened. So they bound themselves by solemn vows to God to continue

[1] Lib. iii in Cantic.

the life of evangelical poverty, chastity, and obedience, to which He Himself had called such as sought a perfection above that required of the common run of men.

" If thou wilt be perfect," Jesus had said to the young man who had kept the commandments faithfully from his youth, " go sell what thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven. And come follow Me."

In the spirit of that divine pronouncement lay the antidote to the poison of covetousness, which has power to destroy every generous impulse and breed every sinful passion. Evangelical poverty should be the first pillar on which to erect the cenobitic system. Therein lay the great secret of detachment from all that the world values most.

All are weak in the face of the assaults of carnal desire. The majority are destined to find their salvation in the married state. But not all. Those who would live for God alone, who would " follow " Him in the Gospel sense, must not be bound by the conjugal love of man or woman. " But I would have you to be without solicitude," said St. Paul. " He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord : how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world : how he may please his wife. And he is divided. And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord : that she may be holy in body and in spirit. But she that is married thinketh on the things of the world : how she may please her husband " (I *Cor.* vii). And so aspirants to the Religious Life would be called upon to bind themselves by vow to the practise of the strictest chastity.

When men are gathered together to live a life in common with a definite end in view, some system of government must be set up to preserve the community

in being and to direct it to its end. Provided such government is properly constituted and does its work faithfully the community owes it loyal obedience, and it is lawful to exact such obedience for the common good. But the monastics set themselves a higher ideal —a voluntary vow to obey blindly the constituted authority for the love of God and their own spiritual perfection. Thus should stubborness and self-sufficiency, and a host of other sins be crushed out. By such a strategy should Satan's citadel, Pride, be assaulted and laid low. And what an example had they to encourage them to fulfil the terms of the sacrifice—the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, for thirty years of the thirty-three years of His Galilean life, in the humble home and the carpenter's workshop of Nazareth, yielding Himself up to be governed by the two humble creatures whom His Father in Heaven had set temporarily over Him. "And He went down with them and came to Nazareth and was subject to them."

But, as has been said, something beyond the personal sanctification of the individual was to be sought. Alzog pays Monasticism a high tribute whilst assigning it its place in the life of the Church. "The religious orders of the Church," he writes, "are an *indispensable* and *an essential element* of her economy, and *enable her to work out the complete solution of the problem of Christianity*, for her office is not only to *teach* what a perfect Christian should be, but also to show by *living examples* what he really is, and it is, as a rule, by the holy influence ever at work in religious communities, that these examples are produced; and, in matter of fact, such have never been wanting in the Church of Christ." And again: "Monasticism had, besides its general aim, a *special work* to take up *in meeting and supplying some pressing temporary want.*" Of the great military orders, for instance, that of the

Hospitaller Brothers of St. John of Jerusalem was organised in the first instance, to look after a hospital established, in the year 1014, in Mohammedan Jerusalem by certain enterprising and benevolent Christian merchants who obtained permission from the Moslem Caliph. It was erected for the care of pilgrims who had fallen sick whilst visiting the Holy Places. But when the Turks became aggressive Raymond of Puy, the second superior, added to their rule the duty of fighting against the infidels, of defending the pilgrims and the Holy Sepulchre.

Several causes combined to call the Mendicant Orders into existence. There was a general relaxation of discipline, due to the acquisition of too great wealth, in the monastic orders. Thus, in the reign of Henry III of England an Act of Parliament was passed to restrain the people from giving them lands. There was, next, the fact that the stricter lives of certain of the leaders of the prevalent heretical sects, the Albigenses and Waldenses, were winning people from the Faith, and so on. These rigourists had to be combated with their own weapons. So Dominic organised his order of Friars Preachers and Francis of Assisi his brave company of ascetics, whilst the Carmelites, newly come from their Eastern home, were admitted under their altered Rule to share their fortunes. These latter also played a valiant part in defending the Church against the assaults of the heresiarchs, for were they not the first and most persistent enemies of the Lollards and their kin in Mediaeval England. To these were added the Augustinians, and the powerful quartet was complete. Thus the four great Mendicant Orders all had their origin in the Middle Ages. We here speak of the Carmelites as mendicants, although, under their hermitical Rule, they pre-existed the mendicants on their Palestinian mount.

The Mendicants, by a vow of poverty, renounced all proprietorship, not only individually, but as a corporate body. They were forbidden to hold landed property, and they relied on casual bounty, the proceeds of their work, and the charity of the faithful to whom they ministered, for their support. The new rule of life was intended to remove all cause for scandal, since the friars should be so poor that they should have to beg their way, though devoting their lives to their own sanctification and to the service of others. Thus their life should be a mixed one, combining both the contemplative and the active. Whilst retaining the first principle of the monastics they substituted the active ministry, the evangelization of the people, for the complete seclusion of the monks from contact with the world.

In writing of the obligation of the religious to practise mental prayer, Benedict XIV says, in his famous *Treatise on Heroic Virtue:*

" In order that this may be the more easily explained, one or two things must be premised. First, that there are three sorts of life, the active, the contemplative and the mixed; that the contemplative life is preferable to the active, and that the mixed is more perfect than both."

It is beyond all question that the rule of the mendicants was that most suited to the needs of the Middle Ages. " The work of the mendicants in the pulpit, in the confessional, in the service of the sick and the socially weak, in the foreign missions, had no parallel in the Middle Ages."

Later, there came the soldier-saint, Ignatius of Loyola, with his company of " free-lances," to wage war on the new menace of Protestantism. And so it has been down through the ages. Whenever a new great peril threatened the Church, or the call of Charity

demanded her special intervention, Religious Orders were called into existence to spring to the breach to supply the pressing need.

Strange to say, the Orders least understood in our day by those outside the Church, and even by many Catholics, are the Contemplative Orders. Perhaps the reason is that a worldly people cannot appreciate such a supra-mundal ideal as the devotion of life in its entirety to Prayer and Sacrifice. Since they do not vindicate their existence in the world's way, by apparent manual labour, by teaching, tending the sick, and so on, they are thought useless, an encumbrance, and even more opprobrious epithets are by the ignorant applied to men and women who are the salvation of a sinful race. But lest we should be thought to hold a brief we shall let a man of the world, a great writer, a great scholar, and a convert, speak his mind on the matter. The passage is from the *En Route* of Joris Karl Huysmans.

"And yet," cried Durtal, "the world asks what is the good of the Contemplative Orders."

"They are the lightning conductors of society," said the abbé, with great energy. "They draw on themselves the demoniacle fluid, they absorb the temptations to vice, preserve by their prayers those who live, like ourselves, in sin; they appease, in fact, the wrath of the Most High that He may not place the earth under an interdict. Ah! while the sisters who devote themselves to nursing the sick and infirm are admirable, their task is easy in comparison with that undertaken by the cloistered Orders, the Orders where penance never ceases, and the very nights in bed are broken by sobs."

They depend in many instances absolutely on the Charity of the Catholic community. In return their benefactors have the immeasurable benefit of their prayers—intense prayers. They share in the fruits of the

penitential lives of the religious. Men and women are so often engrossed in the affairs of life that they find it at times exceedingly difficult to concentrate their souls in prayer. How many are compelled to join in the lament:

> " Pray can I not,
> Though inclination be as sharp as will,
> My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent;
> And like a man to double business bound,
> I stand in pause where I shall first begin,
> And both neglect."

And yet how great is the necessity of prayer for all of us!

> " A l'enfant il faut sa mère,
> A mon âme il faut mon Dieu."

If, then, we cannot do our own praying in a worthy manner what a priceless acquisition is a community of Contemplatives, of experts in prayer and mortification, in our midst. Like the advocate in the court of man's law they are ever with us to act the part of mediator—to plead our cause before the Court of Heaven. As Tennyson has it:

> " More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
> Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
> For what are men better than sheep or goats
> That nourish a blind life within the brain,
> If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
> Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
> For so the whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND RULE OF THE CARMELITE ORDER

" What dost thou here, Elias? And he answered: With zeal have I been zealous for the Lord of Hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant; they have destroyed Thy altars, they have slain Thy prophets with the sword, and I alone am left, and they seek my life to take it " (III *Kings*, xix, 14).

Mount Carmel! What magic is there in that sacred name! What wizard's wand has ever called up a picture so vivid and so wonderful as these two words which cause long ages to pass in panoramic review before the exalted souls of Jew, Mohammedan, and Christian alike?

Mount Carmel! the inspiration of biblical imagery and religious exaltation; a resplendent jewel adorning the inspired poetry of the Old Testament bards. " A garden, a beautiful hill, a choice orchard, a highly cultivated ground," according to the general interpretation of the Hebrew word, and in particular, " the garden mount." The English poet, Pope, wrote truly: " Carmel! thy flowery top perfumes the skies," for, in its festal season, there are few places in the world to compare, in point of natural beauty, with the grace of this lofty summit, its base laved by the caressing waters of the Mediterranean and its surface adorned with a bright green setting of luxuriant growth clustered all over with the countless shades of multi-coloured wild flowers, of

scarlet and white anemones, cyclamen, jonquils, and narcissi. The Spouse in the Canticle of Canticles can pay no higher meed of praise to His beloved than in singing: "Thy head is as Carmel."

Carmel by the Sea! With the possible exception of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jerusalem, and Rome, what city or shrine has so resounded to the footsteps of pious pilgrims seeking a closer association with God, His blessed Mother, and the Saints, as that Holy Mountain of Northern Palestine? Its history is not the story of a day but of all time. Some authorities do not hesitate to claim that it was inhabited from the days of Creation. Nine centuries before the coming of the Messias it was already sanctified by the lives of the great prophets of the Old Law and made famous by their wondrous deeds enacted thereon. There the first Christians met. There was erected the first church in honour of Our Lady. For well-nigh three thousand years solitaries and hermits and friars have there worshipped the one true God. "Carmel," writes Rev. C. B. Garside, "far eclipsing, at a later epoch, by the erection of its Christian altars, the sanctity of the old, and casting upon the entire Catholic Church a new splendour by the saintly brilliance of its 'monastic glory'—a glory which, tracing back its natal rays to a no less august source than Elias himself, still lives—Carmel the spiritual heirloom of a religious order, illustrious by the excellence of its deeds as well as by the continuity of its name." [1]

Mount Carmel is a chain of mountains in Northern Palestine about fifteen miles long. The range begins on the Syrian coast where Cape Carmel rises abruptly from the deep blue of the Mediterranean Sea to a height of six hundred feet, forming a bold promontory. From this cape, which faces north-west, it runs in almost a

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[1] *The Prophet of Carmel*, Rev. C. B. Garside, M.A.

straight line south-east, gradually attaining an altitude of fifteen hundred feet. As one stands high up on the promontory facing sea-ward the coast curves round the base of the mountain, on the right hand, to the town of Haifa, and thence, almost at right angles to Carmel, it continues on to St. Jean d'Acre. Here it again turns abruptly out to sea, ending in the precipitous point known as the Ladder of Tyre. Between these two points is enclosed the historic Bay of Acre. Half a mile to the left lie the ruins of Athlet, a one-time castle of the Knights Templar and the last stronghold of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.

Thus, from the point we have selected, viz., that on which the present Carmelite monastery stands, there lies mapped out before one a stretch of land and sea, the secular history of which would fill many portly volumes with matter of intensest interest—the stage on which great deeds were enacted, important battles fought for the possession of the Holy Places, devoted soldier lives yielded up willingly for an ideal, and the blood of saintly hermits shed profusely, from the days of Richard Coeur de Lion and St. Louis to those wherein Napoleon I saw his dream of an eastern empire shattered.

Then one has but to cross to the south-eastern slope of Carmel to behold the wide-spread Plain of Esdrelon, with the silver tape of winding Cison ever in view, famed in the fascinating pages of Old Testament battle-history.

But we are not here concerned with the topography of Mount Carmel in its association with secular history. It is more to our purpose to study it as the home of the Great Prophet, Elias, of his disciples, the Sons of the Prophets, and of the inheritors of their tradition and the perpetuators of their penitential mode of life, the Christian hermits of the Holy Mountain.

The place chosen by Elias for his contest with the priests of Baal was one of the highest peaks on the south-eastern slope, about fourteen miles from the site of the present monastery. There he confounded the querulous idolators by calling down fire from heaven to consume the holocaust. Having proved by this miracle that the God of Israel was the only God, Elias said to the people: "Take the prophets of Baal, and let not one of them escape. And when they had taken them, Elias brought them down to the torrent Cison, and killed them there." [1] It was here, immediately after the sacrifice, that he saw the little cloud rising out of the sea, like a man's foot, which, being inspired, he recognised as the type and image of the God-bearing and Immaculate Virgin who was to give birth, in the seventh age of the world, to the Messias.

Jezabel, the wicked wife of Achab, King of Israel, hearing of the destruction of the priests of Baal whom she favoured, sent a messenger to Elias swearing vengeance on him: "Such and such things may the gods do to me, and add still more, if by this hour tomorrow I make not thy life as the life of one of them." The prophet then fled for safety, and, eventually, took refuge in a grotto on the north-west promontory. This refuge became henceforth his dwelling and his oratory. It exists to the present day, beneath the high-altar of the beautiful basilica that serves as the conventual church of the friars. About fifteen feet long and twelve feet high, it is reached by a double flight of steps leading from the level of the church. The grotto is held in the greatest veneration, not only among the Christians of all rites, but even among the Arabs, the Turks, and the Druses, who come in great numbers to worship at the shrine each year on the feast of the great prophet, for an un-

[1] III *Kings*, xviii, 40.

broken tradition amongst these peoples marks it as the exact spot where he led his solitary life.

Far down the mountain-side, reached by a rugged and dangerous track, is a cave, eighteen feet wide and twelve feet high, known as the "School of the Prophets." Tradition points it out as the place where Elias was accustomed to assemble the Sons of the Prophets to receive his instructions and to hear his explanations of the prophetical lore. In the year 1821 Dr. Scholz made a most important discovery on this spot, for he there found Greek inscriptions which he proves to belong to the first centuries of Christianity. This is one of the strongest links in the chain of evidence of a Christian succession to the Sons of the Prophets.[1] Since the Crimean war it has been in the hands of the Mohammedans, who use it as a mosque.

The Sons of the Prophets, and later their Christian successors, lived like the great prophet himself. The mountain is honeycombed with the caverns where they dwelt to the number of a thousand and more. These narrow abodes, a man's length and half a man's height, are rude in the extreme. In some of them holes are pierced to serve the purpose of windows, and there are even to be found beds hewn in the solid rock. The inhabitants of the country, a people so long cut off by their Mohammedan faith from Christian tradition, know them as "Schifel Ruban," Caves of the Religious. Thus, in the Providence of God, is external evidence provided as to the succession of holy hermits from the earliest times to the present on Mount Carmel.

Although this is not intended to be a controversial work we do not hesitate to assert categorically our unswerving conviction in the legality of the Carmelite claim to a pre-Christian origin and a moral succession,

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[1] Scholz, Reise, Leipzig, 1822, p. 152.

at least, from the days of Elias. Though a link in the chain of evidence may be missing here and there it is supplied by independent tradition, especially by the traditions of the native races. It is not our province in this work to adduce the mass of weighty evidence in support of that contention, but we are satisfied that the facts altogether outweigh the wholly unfounded and gratuitous surmises of Baronius, Papebroch, and the modern opponents of our claim to a great antiquity.

Even if the name of the "Sons of the Prophets" disappears some time before the coming of the Messias, they continued their corporate existence on Mount Carmel as Rechabites and Essenians to the days of the new-born Christian Church, and, being men of austere habits, were probably received into its fold amongst the first of the disciples of that Saviour for whose advent they had so ardently prayed. Indeed, it is, with very good reason, maintained that they continued their former life, modified, however, in accordance with the new doctrines, since that life had been a splendid preparation for the adoption of the Christian rule of perfection. It is even contended by authorities, ancient and modern, that, after the Ascension of Our Divine Lord into Heaven, some of His disciples, accompanied by our Blessed Lady, associated themselves with the hermits of Mount Carmel. Nor is there anything incongruous in such an assertion in view of the facts that the Holy Places are so very near Mount Carmel and that Mary must have known of the centuries of veneration that had been paid to her thereon from the days of Elias's prophetic vision. John, the forty-fourth Patriarch of Jerusalem, who lived in the fourth century, tells us that Elias had even erected a little temple to the honour of the God-bearing Virgin, and that the Sons of the Prophets, from the very beginning of their institution, had ever shown the greatest reverence and

veneration for the future Mother of God.[1] It is also an interesting fact that the hermits of Mount Carmel, anticipating the authoritative declaration of the Church by several centuries, propounded, from the earliest times, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. Nor must we forget that the first Christian church erected in her honour was raised on Carmel, close by the Grotto of Elias, on the western promontory, in the year of Our Lord 83. Indeed, Carmel was a renowned place of pilgrimage for the pious Israelites, and it is not at all unlikely that Mary, in the company of Joachim and Anne, whose home at Sephoris, the capital of Galilee, was quite near, may have visited the Holy Mount as a child. It is also a tradition that the Holy Family stayed for a while there on their return from the Egyptian exile, taking up their dwelling in the School of the Prophets. This, again, is possible, since Carmel lies on the direct route between Egypt and Nazareth.

We might support our contention by innumerable citations from writers of all nations and all schools. We shall limit ourselves to one or two. The first is a peremptory passage from one of the first theologians of the Church, whose impartiality in such matters gives added weight to his matured opinions. Suarez writes:[2] "It is a generally received, and very ancient tradition, that this Order traces its origin and hereditary succession on Mount Carmel, from which it derives its name, from the days of the prophets, and especially from the institution of Elias. This tradition we accept as correct, because seven Supreme Pontiffs, viz., Sixtus IV, John XXII, Julius III, Pius V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, and Clement VIII, have, in Bulls granted to the members

[1] We are not forgetful of the discussion as to the authenticity of this work.

[2] Tom. iv, de Religione Tract. ix, lib. ii, Cap. x, § 1.

of this institute, spoken in the following manner: As the mirror of the religious life, and the example of a fervent charity, do we regard those whose hereditary succession is from the holy Prophets, Elias, Eliseus, and the other Fathers, who dwelt on the Holy Mount of Carmel near the fountain of Elias, &c." "Wherefore," continues our authority, "Sixtus V granted to this Order the right to cultivate Elias and Eliseus as the patrons of their institute, by celebrating feast-days, and by the recitation of proper offices in their honour, a practice that this Order has studiously preserved, giving, in the office, the name and solemnity of founder to Elias." [1]

Father Ildephonsus, of the Society of Jesus, says: "Seeing all the illustrious testimonies of the antiquity of Carmel; the Bulls of Sovereign Pontiffs; the answers of great writers; the tombs, epitaphs, stones, ancient statues; the sentiments of Bishops; the decrees of Academies; in a word, a great cloud of irreproachable witnesses, it seems that it would not be just to contradict an authority so well established, to reject this respectable tradition of Carmel."

Father Sanchez, Professor of Alcalà, in his Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, adds his testimony: "I am of the opinion of those who maintain that the religious who are called in our day Carmelites—men renowned for the glory of their Order and the sanctity of their lives—may trace their origin to the Holy Mountain of Carmel. What has convinced me is the constant and perpetual tradition, not only in the Order, but in nearly all nations. There are many other reasons which give weight to this opinion—the authority of Doctors; of history, ancient and modern; the old monuments of the Order of Carmel, to which may be

[1] Tom. xvi, transl. from Edit. Paris, Ludovic. Vives.

added the testimony of Sovereign Pontiffs, who assure us that the Order owes its origin to the discipline and institute of Elias." [1]

But the Church has gone further still in approving of the Carmelite Breviary in which some of the earliest Saints of the Christian era are honoured as members of the Carmelite Order. The lives of the Palestinian Saints cover a period ranging from the middle of the third century down to the exodus from Palestine to Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century.

It is an incontrovertible fact that, for many years before the Western world was brought into intimate contact with the East by the Crusades, a body of men living the hermitical life did actually exist on Mount Carmel, in the neighbourhood of the cave where Elias had had his oratory. How long were they living there before their existence became known to the West? Is ignorance of their existence previous to that time to be accepted as proof that they did not in fact exist? There are some who seem to say so; some who can accept nothing as of historical worth unless they can find it written down in a document. In a case of this kind it would be obviously impossible to give absolute proof by documentary evidence. Men living the hermitical life in caves and in times so remote were hardly likely to keep records. Indeed, it would be contrary to their spirit of humility to do so. Their aim was to cut themselves off from the world of men, to devote their lives exclusively to the service of God by the practise of prayer and the exercise of penance. What interest would such have in keeping memorials? What was there for them to record? The even tenor of their lives was without any but spiritual interest. And even if records had been kept they must inevitably have been destroyed

[1] Tom. x, pp. 1073-74.

in the frequent raids and burnings of their monastery by the Saracens. We are not without documentary evidence, however. The following, for instance, was written between the years 1247 and 1274 :

" From the days of Elias and Eliseus the holy fathers of the Old and New Dispensations dwelt on Mount Carmel, and their successors after the Incarnation built there a chapel in honour of Our Lady, for which reason they were called in Papal Bulls ' Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel.' "

A number of manuscript copies of the fifth century treatise of John of Jerusalem, which date back to the year 1370, may also be consulted. Most important of all is the detailed narrative of St. Cyril of Constantinople. These two works are the chief sources on which the Carmelites rely for proof of the antiquity of their Order.

The Patriarch John, who lived in the fourth century, wrote a work, *De Institutione Monachorum,* in which he tells of the appearance of a cloud to Elias under a form that made known to the prophet the Immaculate Purity of the Blessed Virgin, and gives the traditional account of the origin of the Carmelite Order, connecting it with the prophet of the Old Law. Father J. P. Rushe, O.D.C., gives us assurance that this interpretation of the statement of the Patriarch is supported by a large body of the accepted experts in patristic matters, all of whom were convinced of the genuineness of the treatise *De Institutione Monachorum* as dating from the year 412. " They had not failed," he writes, " to grasp the true significance of the Carmelite tradition, and realised the importance of the testimony of John of Jerusalem from the historical standpoint : yet not one of them suggested that it was for the Order to demonstrate the authenticity of the book, on the gratuitous assumption of opponents asserting the possibility of this ancient document being false. I can

see no difference between such a contention and 'that curious result of modern sceptical tendencies' branding every piece of positive evidence in favour of the claims of the Carmelites 'a forgery until it is shown from independent sources to be unquestionably genuine.' We are warned against so intolerable a pretension, seeing that it is based on abuse of the negative argument 'all the more mischievous because in many cases'—of this kind, especially,—'it can only be refuted by an hypothesis, and such a refutation sounds like a confession of weakness.' Facts cannot deceive; and it is with the fact of the existence of the book *On the Institution of the First Monks* our critics themselves have to deal, advancing what they consider proof of its spuriousness so as to afford us an opportunity of subjecting their objections to the test of that 'scientific examination' to which they would have us appeal. Hitherto they have submitted nothing that survives what should prove rather an invigorating process, otherwise they would never have recourse to something very closely resembling subterfuge in the vain effort to convict the Carmelites, and, incidentally, all those well-known members of the Society of Jesus, of irrational credulity." [1]

But perhaps the most important piece of evidence yet adduced is the discovery made quite recently by Father Gabriel Wessels, O.C.C.[2] Stephen de Salanhaco (1210-1291), in his writings, asserts that the Patriarch of Antioch, Aymericus de Malafayda, wrote a Rule for the hermits of Mount Carmel, at the request of Berthold, their then superior. This Rule has been identified beyond the shadow of a doubt by Father Wessels with the one commonly attributed to John XLIV (or XLII),

[1] "The Traditions of the Carmelites from the Critical Point of View" (*Irish Eccl. Record*, Sept., 1911).
[2] "Analect Ordinis Carmel."

Bishop of Jerusalem in the fourth century, "thus disposing of one of the greatest difficulties with which the whole question of the antiquity of the Order is beset." [1]

Lastly, it can be confidently asserted that Rome has always leaned to the side of those who regard Elias as the founder of the Order. If it were not so why did Pope Benedict XIII, on the 26th of June, 1725, cause to be placed in the Basilica of St. Peter, in the first rank of the statues of the founders of the religious orders, that of the holy prophet, with the following inscription :

"UNIVERSUS ORDO CARMELITARUM FUNDATORI SUO ELIAE PROPHETAE EREXIT" [2]

As we have already said, this is not intended to be a controversial work. We make the above statements merely to show that the claims of the Carmelite Order to a very ancient origin and a moral succession down through the first ages of the Church is far from being a vain and ridiculous claim, as those, following Baronius and Papebroch, would assert who fix the date of the institution of the Order either as A.D. 1209, when St. Brocard, the successor of St. Berthold and the second Latin General, requested Albert de Vercelli to draw up a Rule, which he did about the year 1210, or as A.D. 1226, when the Order was formally approved by Honorius III.

When Aymeric of Malafay was sent to Palestine as Legate *a latere* by Pope Alexander III he found the hermits on Mount Carmel already well organised, and, because of the great admiration he conceived of their rigorous and penitential mode of life, took them under his special protection. Furthermore, he erected all the

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[1] Supplement to *Cath. Encyclop.*

[2] "Erected by the Entire Order of Carmelites to its Founder Elias, Prophet."

convents of the Holy Land into a Congregation under the Rules they then observed, which Rules he judged worthy of a still wider practise. He, accordingly, translated them from the Greek into the more widely known Latin tongue. Recognising the advisability of a central government the Legate advised the Solitaries to choose a superior, and his own brother (or cousin-german), Berthold of Malafay, was elected to that position in the year 1145. In 1188 he was succeeded by Brocard, a native of Jerusalem, under whose able administration the Order spread throughout Palestine. The new superior completed the church which St. Berthold had begun, the site of which was near the ruins of the old one which the Saracens had destroyed in the year 1187. The church was situated in the Valley of the Martyrs.

A few words as to the origin of this name will not be out of place. In the year 1238 the Saracens fell upon the religious, who had gathered there from the other convents of Palestine because of the persecutions and, consequently, were very numerous, and there put them, every one, to death. Not content with their deaths, the infidels dragged the corpses to this valley, throwing several into the Fountain of Elias. This fountain is said to have sprung from the rock at the touch of the prophet, thus miraculously supplying the needs of his disciples. Some Christian soldiers, arriving in the valley, mounted the fountain to bathe therein, but, to their great surprise they found that the water had ceased to flow into the basin. On their return to Ptolemy they related the strange incident. On receipt of the news some religious who had fled to the town for safety asked to be conducted to the place. Arrived at the valley their first care was to remove the bodies of their martyred brethren for decent burial. Then, having purified the basin, they set themselves to pray, begging God, in

the name of His prophet Elias, to cause the water to flow as formerly. Their prayers were heard. An abundance of water burst from the unknown source and has continued to flow to the present day.[1]

About two hundred paces from the fountain may still be seen the ruins of the convent erected by Brocard. It was this saintly superior who, judging that the Rule of Aymeric was not sufficiently precise to promote exact discipline in the then widely-spread communities of the Order, requested the Patriarch, Albert, to draw up a new Rule.

Albert, who was born at Parma, became a Canon Regular in the monastery of Mortata in the Milanese. He was consecrated Bishop of Bobbio, which see he occupied for only a short time, being translated (c. 1184) to the see of Vercelli. When the patriarchate of Jerusalem fell vacant, Albert gladly accepted the see, being moved thereto by the certainty of persecution and the hope of suffering martyrdom. So great was his sanctity that he was venerated even by the Mohammedans. Although summoned by Innocent III to take part in the General Council of the Lateran in 1215 he never, in fact, left Palestine, for he was assassinated during a procession on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Strange to say, as the Bollandists point out, he is honoured as a Saint only by the Carmelites, who celebrate his feast on the 8th of April. The Canons Regular, his own Order, regard him, no doubt, as a Saint, but they have no office in his honour, nor do they pay him any public cult. But at neither Bobbio nor Vercelli, of both of which sees he was bishop, is his memory recalled in the ritual.

The Bollandist writer, commenting on this anomaly, adds: "That holy Order (*i.e.*, The Carmelites) could

[1] Annales, Lezana.

not and ought not to lose the memory of him by whom it was ranked among the Orders approved by the Roman Church; in saying which I in no way wish to impugn the Carmelite claim of descent from Elias."

Already, under the guidance of St. Berthold, the first Latin General, a change had taken place in the life of the hermits of Mount Carmel. Till then they had lived in the caves about the Holy Mount. He erected a number of huts for their convenience, which soon gave way to a monastery. Albert, in drawing up this Rule, a great part of which is copied direct from that of St. Augustine, takes this change into consideration. The Rule opens with the following prologue:

"Albert, by the grace of God Patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem: To his beloved sons in Christ, Brocard, and the other hermits, who dwell in obedience to him by the well of Elias on Mount Carmel, salvation in the Lord, and the blessing of the Holy Spirit.

"The holy fathers have instituted many different rules according to which each one, to whatever order he might belong, or whatever manner of religious rule he might choose, ought to order his life in conformity with that of Jesus Christ, serving Him faithfully in purity of heart and with a good will. However, as you ask it of us, we offer you a Rule for your future guidance."

Then follows a brief Rule, which is set out under eighteen headings, of which we give the following summary:

It requires that one should be elected prior, to whom the rest should offer obedience; and also that they should observe chastity and poverty. That all meals should be taken together, in a common refectory, some chapters of Holy Scripture being read meanwhile. That outside these and a few other specified occasions the monks should remain apart in their separate cells or nearby, their time being spent in meditating day and

night, and in other prayerful vigils. That all who could should recite the Canonical Hours; other prayers being detailed for those unable to do so. No brother should hold any property of his own, but all things should be in common, being distributed to each by the prior according to his needs. All should attend the Holy Sacrifice daily. The brothers should fast every day from the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th of September) to Easter Sunday of the following year, and abstain perpetually from the use of flesh meats. Strict silence should be maintained each day, from the saying of Compline to the conclusion of Prime of the next day. In the year 1227 Gregory IX confirmed the Rule.

Thus, the Rule was exceedingly severe, enjoining a purely contemplative life, almost complete seclusion of the monks in separate cells, absolute poverty, rigorous fasting for seven months out of the twelve, and lifelong total abstinence from flesh meats.

St. Brocard was succeeded by St. Cyril of Constantinople as superior of the Order.

The troubles caused in the Holy Land by the repeated attempts of the Crusaders to win back to Christianity the sacred places that had known the earthly life of the Saviour, and the consequent bitterness of the infidels against the Christians, soon made the life of the hermits on Mount Carmel well-nigh impossible. From what we have said in the opening paragraph of this chapter it will be seen that war was actually brought to the monastery door. Time and again the monks were driven by the Saracens from their mountain retreat and killed in great numbers, but just as often others were found to return and continue the life of mortification and prayer in this cradle of their Order. Time and again the monastery was razed to the ground, but with untold zeal and unexampled perseverance new structures

were erected on the ruins of the old. Eventually the Order developed beyond Mount Carmel, and new foundations were opened up at Antioch, St. Jean d'Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, Jerusalem, Sarepta, Sidon, and elsewhere in Palestine. In the end, however, the position became so fraught with danger as to render dispersion inevitable, and the monks took the opportunity of returning with the Crusaders to the Western world.

Under the superiorship of Berthold II, the successor of St. Cyril, two Carmelites, Peter de Corbé and another, went to Europe and made a foundation at Valenciennes. After the defeat of the Christians in 1237 the infidels spread terror throughout Palestine, so that it was no longer possible for even the most ardent of the hermits to continue to live there. In this extremity Berthold assembled a General Chapter on Mount Carmel at which the religious who so desired were granted permission to return to their native countries, there to found new monasteries and live in peace. In 1240 Berthold died, and Alan, a Breton, was elected to succeed him. It was in this year also that Ralph Freeborn, together with one or two others of English extraction, returned to England in the train of the crusading knights, the Barons de Vesey and Grey.

On the 17th of October, 1244, the united forces of Christendom were hopelessly routed. The Saracens now held undisputed sway, and life became daily more and more bitter for the Christians. Their poverty being extreme, they were no longer able to contribute alms towards the support of the hermits, who were reduced to a state of starvation. They left their monastery and returned to Ptolemy. In despair Alan, leaving Hilarion as his Vicar in Palestine, went to England, where the Order was already firmly founded. He assembled a General Chapter at Aylesford, Kent, to determine what

was best to be done. Broken down with sorrow and anxiety he took the occasion of resigning his office. The famous English ascetic, St. Simon Stock, was elected General in his place, and under his leadership the Order made wonderful progress, not only in England, but throughout the West.

Meanwhile the persecution continued unabated in the Holy Land, and the convents there fell one by one to the implacable hatred of the soldiers of the Sultan.

Louis IX, king of France, had spent four years crusading in the East, in fulfilment of a vow he had made to win the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels, when he suddenly learned of the death of his saintly mother, Blanche of Castile. The holy king immediately set about making his preparations for his departure for France, and he set sail a year later. But scarcely was the island of Cyprus left behind when a violent tempest arose. In vain did the sailors try to contend against the winds and the waves, so that his ship was driven back to the coast of Syria, where it was dashed on a reef at Cape Carmel. Panic seized on all, the king alone retaining his calm. Whilst the rest were awaiting death in despair St. Louis gave himself up to prayer to the Queen of Carmel, promising to visit her sanctuary and to make a foundation of her Order in France should she save him from the death that seemed inevitable. Instantly the royal galley was carried in safety to the little harbour which to this day is called the " Harbour of St. Louis." On the morrow, at daybreak, the King of France climbed the steep incline leading to the chapel of the Virgin, where, prostrate on the pavement of the sanctuary, he gave thanks to Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Then, in testimony of his gratitude, he asked for and obtained six religious whom he brought to France in the year 1253. These he settled at Charenton, near Paris, where he purchased a house for them,

providing vestments, chalices, and all that was necessary for the worthy service of the Almighty.

Thus were the violent persecutions of the Carmelites in the East utilized, in the Providence of God, for the spreading of their ancient Order throughout the Western world.

One hall-mark of the eastern origin of the Carmelite Order is retained to the present day—the White Mantle. Originally the mantle was white, probably of sheepskin with the fleece retained, in imitation of the miraculous mantle worn by its prophetic and sainted founder, Elias. Later the Saracens forced the hermits to adopt a striped mantle, as a mark of humiliation and servitude. This White Mantle with a hood attached, the use of which gained for the Order in Europe the alternative appellation of the White Friars, is but the "burnous" of the Saracens, and is still the normal dress in many parts of the East. It traces its origin, as far as the Carmelites are concerned, to its use by the prophets Elias and Eliseus. St. Epiphanius writes:[1] "At the moment when Elias was born, Sobach (his father) had a vision. He saw a company of men clothed in white, who saluted the new-born child, enveloped him with flames in the form of tongues of fire, and offered him fiery nourishment. Having related all to the priests of Jerusalem, being then transported, he received this response: Do not fear. This child will be a burning light; his word will be powerful. He will judge Israel with the sword and with fire." Again we read[2] how Elias divided the waters of the swollen Jordan by striking them with his mantle, so that he and Eliseus were enabled to cross the bed of the river dry-shod; and how, on his being transported to Heaven in the fiery chariot, he threw his mantle over his

[1] Liber de vitis prophetarum—inter opera dubia.
[2] IV *Kings*, ii.

favourite disciple as a symbol of the transference to him of his master's double spirit.

An alternative explanation sometimes offered for the changing of the colour of the mantle from pure white to white and brown stripes arranged longitudinally is that the alteration was effected to commemorate the scorchings on the cloak of the prophet when he threw it from the fiery chariot. Dugdale asserts that the Patriarch Albert prescribed a parti-coloured mantle of white and red.

Whatever may be the correct explanation the fact is that the striped mantle was that worn by the first Carmelites to come to Europe. It is said that Pope Honorius III, disliking it, ordered, in the year 1258, a return to the pure white. The historical fact is that it was universally adopted by direction of the General Chapter held at Montpellier in 1287. William Rishanger says [1] it was altered by Pope Martin IV in 1281, but this also is incorrect. As a matter of fact the General Chapter of that year ordered that the mantle should consist of seven radiating stripes, so as to secure uniformity.

Because of its use by Elias, the Founder of the Order, and the significance of his double spirit attached to it after his taking up into heaven, it continued to be the principal and most cherished part of the habit, and was worn on all solemn feasts and ceremonial occasions, till Our Blessed Lady gave the Holy Scapular to St. Simon Stock at the monastery of Cambridge on the 16th of July, 1251. Henceforth the Scapular naturally took pride of place.

It was in the massacre of the year 1291 that the last Carmelite martyrs fell beneath the swords of the

[1] Hic Martinus Papa (IV) capas Fratrum Carmelitarum mutavit in Album, quae prius erant stragulatae, radiatae, et birratae. (*Chronica*, p. 97.)

Saracens. To the bitter end they had remained the faithful guardians of Mary's sanctuary. Only by death could they be prevented from singing her praises, and even in the moments of dissolution they continued to salute her : Salve Regina. The Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel had ceased to exist in the Holy Land. The soil had been sanctified once more, this time by the anointing blood of Christian saints. But beautiful Carmel by the Sea was left desolate, mourning the absence of her white-robed solitaries and hermits. And thus, of necessity, she remained for well-nigh four hundred years.

CHAPTER III

EXTENSION OF THE CARMELITE ORDER TO EUROPE. ITS DEVELOPMENT

" Reft of thy sons; amid thy foes forlorn,
Mourn widowed Queen, forsaken Zion, mourn."

The beginning of the eleventh century saw the rise of the Turkish power in the East. It spread with lightning-like rapidity, so that Asia Minor was soon lost to civilization. After their crushing victory over the Emperor Romanus Diogenes at the historic battle of Manzikert, in the August of 1071, Palestine was wrested by the Turks from the Egyptians. By the year 1092 the empire of Malek Shah, the Seljukian Sultan, extended from the borders of China to the southern frontiers of Palestine. In a letter, purporting to have been written by Alexius I to Robert, Count of Flanders, he says: " From Jerusalem to the Aegean the Turkish hordes have mastered all: their galleys, sweeping the Black Sea and the Mediterranean threaten the Imperial city itself, which, if fall it must, had better fall into the hands of the Latins than of the pagans." About this time Peter the Hermit, whilst on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was horrified at what he there witnessed,— the pollution of the Holy Places, the bitter slavery of the native Christians, and the cruel oppression of pilgrims from other lands. Returning home he enlisted the sympathies of Pope Urban II, and set about preaching the First Crusade. Now for the first time was heard the crusading watchword: Deus Vult! It is not our

province to enter into the details of this and the subsequent Crusades, except in so far as they affect the history of the Carmelite Order.

The monks on Mount Carmel suffered severely during the Turkish rule, and their lot was rendered little happier by the fortunes and ill-fortunes of war which raged round their mountain retreat throughout two entire centuries. Time and again were they driven out, subjected to humiliations and sufferings, and their monastery burned down. Nevertheless they had found it possible to open up other foundations in and about Antioch. With the coming of the crusaders their services were in demand and, soon after the year 1210, new monasteries were erected at Saint Jean d'Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, Jerusalem, in the Quarentena, somewhere in Galilee, and elsewhere, making in all fifteen foundations. " Most of these were destroyed as soon as they were built," writes Father Zimmerman, " and at least in two of them some of the brothers were put to death by the Saracens."

Already some Englishmen had joined the community on Mount Carmel, for about the year 1212 some hermits of that nationality returned to England, probably in the company of the knights of John de Brienne, who saw the hopelessness of his coping, with his little force of three hundred, with the powerful foe. On their arrival they erected hermitages near the tree in which St. Simon Stock was then living his penitential life. A mutual admiration was the result of their meeting, and Simon begged to be admitted to their membership.

In the year 1215 an English crusader of noble family, one Ralph Fresburn (Fresborn or Freeborn), " of a gay and volatile disposition," returning from the Holy Wars, turned aside to Mount Carmel. There he took the habit of the Order and continued to live as one of the most observant of the community. He was

destined to play a most important part in establishing the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel on English soil; becoming first prior and provincial of the new Province.

In the year 1228 the irreligious Frederick II of Germany landed in Palestine in fulfilment of a vow made years before. His reputation as a warrior was great, and he found little difficulty in concluding a ten years' truce with the infidels, by which Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, were restored to the Christians, on condition that the site of the Temple, where the mosque of Omar stood, should be guaranteed to the Saracens. As soon as the treaty was arranged Frederick, on the 18th of March, 1229, accompanied by his army, went up to Jerusalem, where he crowned himself next day, taking the empty title of King of Jerusalem. Shortly after, he set sail from Acre for Europe.

At the conclusion of the ten years' truce arranged by the Emperor, the Pope, Gregory IX, determined to launch a new crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land, and the amelioration of the hard lot of the Eastern Christians. The expedition, which was composed chiefly of French and Spanish nobles and their vassals, set sail for Acre in August, 1239, but returned without having accomplished anything.

In 1237 a General Chapter was held on Mount Carmel, over which Alan, the fifth Latin General, presided. Life had now become impossible for the monks, their settlements in the East being continually disturbed by the persecutions, oppressions, or threats of the Saracens. It was consequently decreed in this assembly that the greatest part of the brethren should pass into Europe. Soon after, whole colonies of the hermits set out for Cyprus, Sicily, Marseilles, and Valenciennes, probably on the ships of the returning crusaders.

In the following year Richard, Earl of Cornwall, accompanied by Simon de Montfort, reached Acre. But the jealousy of the military orders towards each other made active warfare impossible, and the English earls, like their German predecessors, returned without having effected anything of note. Among their numbers were William de Vesey, Lord of Alnwick, and Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, " two eminent chieftains in the Christian army." Led by curiosity or devotion they went to visit the monks on Mount Carmel. There they found Ralph Fresburn and a few other brothers of English extraction. They entreated the superior to allow these hermits to return home with them. In the end their request was granted on condition that they should found a house for the Carmelite Order in England, which they did in that same year, 1240. The Order soon spread throughout England, and before the end of the century, new foundations were opened up in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

Shortly after the departure of the English knights from Palestine the Franks negotiated with Dawud, Lord of Kerak, and the Lord of Damascus, for all the land west of the Jordan, excepting Hebron, Nablus, and Bethsan. This acquisition of territory included Jerusalem, which was now once again Christian. But it was soon made evident that the Sultan, Es-Saleh Ayub, had only entered on the truce to gain time. He sought the aid of the Korasmins, a savage and inhuman eastern tribe from the Caspian shores, to drive the Christians from Palestine. They fell upon Jerusalem, and the Christian army was almost annihilated. The unfortunate inhabitants, without respect to age or sex, were brutally tortured and massacred. The news of this fearful disaster reached France in August, 1244, when the king, Louis IX, was supposed to be dying. Being raised up from his bed of sickness as by a miracle he

forthwith set about organising a new crusade to retrieve the losses sustained. He set sail with his expedition from Marseilles on the 25th of August, 1248, the objective being Egypt, and arrived at Cyprus towards the end of the year. Having taken in stores he set out with seven hundred ships for Damietta, which was reached on the 27th of May, 1249. The Saracens, demoralised by the sight of such a mighty host, fled from the city, so that the king gained possession of this great port without striking a blow. Had he followed up this success immediately history might have a very different story to relate of his adventure. Instead, he delayed for six months, awaiting the arrival of the remainder of the fleet from Syria, thus giving the enemy time to reorganise his forces. At the disastrous battle of Mansourah the Christians, wasted by disease and starvation, were signally defeated. Louis himself was taken prisoner after a display of the most conspicuous bravery. Whilst in the hands of the Saracens every effort was made, by threats of torture, to force the saintly king to surrender the Christian strongholds and to forswear his Faith, but in vain. He was constrained, however, to purchase his freedom, and that of his army, by the payment of the enormous sum of 800,000 golden bezants and the surrender of Damietta. Louis set sail with his broken army for Acre in the middle of the month of May, and thus ended the last Crusade but one. At the urgent entreaty of the Knights Hospitallers he lingered at Acre for four years helping to render the fortifications impregnable. During this time the pious monarch must have often visited the neighbouring monastery of Mount Carmel to practise his devotions and be present at the Holy Sacrifice. It is evident, as we have said, that he learned to admire the penitential life of the monks, and to recognise the imminent danger of their extinction.

On the 25th of March, 1291, the Sultan, Malek El-Ashraf, appeared before the walls of Acre. Although there were sufficient soldiers to defend it, the inhabitants had become so degenerate that all hope of doing so was in vain. On the 18th of May the enemy entered the city. The Templars and Hospitallers fought desperately to the last under the valiant Grand Master Villiers.

"Rallying them with inspiring words and dauntless resolution," writes E. M. Tenison,[1] "he made them cut their way through to his galley at anchor in the harbour. From the decks his archers kept up a volley of arrows against the Moslem squadron which strove to cut off the retreat of these, the last survivors of the once-great Christian army. As the ship weighed anchor, and turned its golden prow towards Cyprus, the favouring wind which filled its purple sails wafted from the receding shore exultant yells of the ferocious conquerors revelling in the stricken city. And so the Hospitallers departed from the Holy Land, ruined and defeated—but ever unshaken in faith, unbroken in courage, and eager to hand on the Torch."

The unfortunate Christians whom the knights had been unable to save were left to fall before the devilish cruelty of the infidels.

Whilst the battle was raging the monks, high up in their lofty retreat, prayed for the success of the Christian soldiers, and when they were gone, knowing that no earthly hope remained to them, they set about recommending their souls to God. Mount Carmel was seized by the Saracens. As a horde of devils exulting in the destruction of the last vestige of the Christian religion in the land where Christ had taught they surrounded the monastery. Whilst pandemonium reigned all round, the monks, knowing that their martyrdom was near,

[1] "Chivalry and the Wounded."

continued to sing the *Salve Regina*. At last the monastery was set fire to, and as the religious escaped from the flames they were one and all put to the sword. Thus died these most worthy sons of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, whilst their voices were raised in petition to their heavenly Mother: "Turn then, O most gracious advocate, thine eyes of mercy towards us; and after this our exile, show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus. O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary."

Thus, after so many centuries, did the Carmelite Order cease for a time to exist in the country of its birth.

Meanwhile it had made extraordinary progress outside the Holy Land, so that there were, at this time, the Provinces of Sicily, England, Provence, Rome, France, Lombardy, Germany and Aquitaine. By the year 1369 there were as many as nineteen Provinces, all in a flourinshing condition, whilst, at its zenith, the Order numbered as many as fifty-one Provinces, and nine hundred and twenty-seven convents, including eighty-one convents of nuns.

But its sufferings were not at an end. The advent of a new religious order was resented by those already in possession. Attacks were made against it from the most unexpected quarters. Amidst unaccustomed surroundings the hermits were helpless to resist them, especially as they were hampered by the fact that their Rule had not received the official confirmation which was now required. Again, the Fourth Lateran Council, assembled by Pope Innocent III on the 11th of November, 1215, had forbidden the formation of any new religious orders, lest too great diversity should bring confusion into the Church. Relying on these two facts, the enemies of the Carmelites maintained that theirs was a new order within the meaning of the Coun-

cil's prohibition. In St. Simon Stock, however, the hermits had gained a powerful champion. Such was his reputation that, in the year 1224, St. Cyril, then Prior of Mount Carmel and General of the Order, had appointed him his vicar-general, with full power over all the western provinces. In 1226 Simon repaired to Rome and obtained from the holy Pope Honorius III a confirmation [1] of the Rule given to the Order by Albert, and another from Gregory IX in the year 1227. He had thus accomplished much towards securing the existence of his Order. When the Second General Council of Lyons assembled in 1274 it decreed that all orders established since the Council of Lateran, and not approved by the Holy See, should be dissolved at once. Those since established, but approved, were to receive no new members, so that they should, in the course of time, cease to exist. The four great orders of mendicants, viz., the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Hermits of St. Augustine, were, however, approved, for it adds: "Be it understood, however, that we do not conceive of the extension of this constitution to the Orders of Friars Preachers and of Friars Minors, whose eminent service to the universal Church is sufficient approval. As to the Hermits of St. Augustine and the Order of Carmelites, whose foundation preceded the said Council, we wish them to remain as solidly established as heretofore."

It will be noted that the Order is named in the above Council as one of the mendicant orders. With the advent of the Carmelites to the West it was soon found that a change of Rule would be necessary to meet the needs of their altered condition of living. The strictly contemplative life was now impossible for a variety of reasons. In a General Chapter held at Aylesford, in

[1] Const. "Ut vivendi," 30th of Jan., 1226.

England, in 1245, Alan, who, the year previously, had returned to England with St. Simon, resigned his office as General, and Simon was elected in his stead. In 1247 the new General secured a modification of the Rule and its re-confirmation by Pope Innocent IV, who, at the Saint's request received the Order under the special protection of the Holy See, and numbered it among the orders of mendicants. The name was now altered from "Hermits of St. Mary of Mount Carmel" to "Brothers of the Order of the Blessed Mother of God, Mary ever Virgin of Mount Carmel."

Having placed the Order on a safe footing, the General sought to make its influence felt far and wide. Besides the English houses which he set up he also opened monasteries at Paris, Bologna, and Naples.

There are to-day monasteries and convents of the Order to be found in plenty in Italy, Spain, Sicily, Malta, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Holland, Ireland, America, Australia, and elsewhere, many of them famous as the homes of Saints, or as shrines where the relics of the holy dead and other invaluable treasures are jealously preserved.

Writing of the Sicilian Province, Father Magennis says:[1] "Sicily is the oldest of all the Carmelite Provinces of Europe. . . . . Even to-day it is possible to glean somewhat of the greatness of Sicily from a visit to its churches and convents, nearly all in ruins. The magnificent shrine of Trapani still bears witness to ancient splendour, even though the municipality of that once great city has pillaged from the Friars, what is now called the museum of the city, but which is only the old convent of the Carmelites decorated with many tokens of past greatness bestowed on, or obtained by, the Friars themselves. The old historic building in

[1] "The Sabbatine Privilege of the Scapular."

Messina perished in the terrible earthquake of some years ago, but the monumental churches of Catania and Palermo are still to be seen, having shed undoubtedly much of their ancient grandeur. . . . .

"In the Church of the Carmelite Fathers in Palermo, there is a window of exceeding great importance to the student of the Scapular. As a work of art it is of much importance, but in its historic aspect it is simply invaluable. There is no doubt as to the period in which the artist worked, for the year is given and the recognised judges of ancient art have given their opinion as to the window. . . . . There is not the least doubt that the representations round the figure of the Madonna and her Child who is presenting the Scapular to her children was finished in the year 1492, but the copies of the Bulls with their margin are of much older date. The fact is that they date from the time that the copies of the Bulls were being circulated among the Convents—any time after the legislation of the General Chapter of 1430."

Some of the finest paintings of the famous artist, Jan Herrigouts, are preserved at the Carmelite Church of Bruges, the chief of them being a beautiful Madonna and saints kneeling before Christ.

But of incomparably more value to us are the relics of our Saints. Thus, the two feet and one arm of the great Spanish mystic and Doctor, St. John of the Cross, are still to be seen at Ubeda, the other arm at Madrid, and the head and trunk at Segovia. The transfixed heart of that other extraordinary Spanish mystic, St. Teresa, is exposed on the feast of the Transverberation, whilst her incorrupt body is preserved at the convent of Avila. A third most remarkable Carmelite Saint was the Florentine, Mary Magdalene de Pazzi, whose body is still preserved in the Carmel of her native city.

The new convent is on the Piazza Savonarola. The

SARCOPHAGUS AND MIRACULOUSLY PRESERVED BODY OF S. MARY MAGDALENE

chapel is very small. In a closet constructed beneath the high altar stands the great gilt sepulchre, finely inlaid, in which the incorrupt body of the Saint, who died on the 25th of May, 1607, reposes at full length robed in the habit of the Order and covered with precious stones. The face, hands, and feet are uncovered. The sides of the sepulture being of glass give an uninterrupted view, and, except for the fact that the skin is now a dark brown, the great Carmelite mystic looks as if she had but just died.

This favoured city also holds enshrined, in the great Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, the miraculously preserved body of St. Andrew Corsini. This was the member of the illustrious Corsini family who was wild and dissolute in his youth, but was recalled to grace when his mother related to him the strange history of his birth. Fearful that she was to be without children she prayed God to bless her with one, promising him to the service of the Blessed Virgin. Before her child was born she foresaw in a vision herself bringing forth a wolf, which, on approaching the monastery of the Carmelites was immediately converted into a lamb. He eventually became known as the Apostle of the Florentines, and was credited with the gifts of prophecy and miracle-working. Being called to the See of Fiesoli he, in his great humility, dreaded the honour, fled, and for a long time lay hidden. He was at last discovered by a child, consented to undertake the responsibilities of the episcopacy, filled the see for twelve years, and died a most saintly death. He was canonized by Pope Urban VIII in 1629, the 4th of February being set apart for his feast-day. The Church of the Carmelites, a magnificent temple, but with an exceedingly poor exterior, dates from the year 1268; but having been destroyed by fire on the 28th of January, 1771, all the central part had to be built again. The present church, completed

in 1782 from the drawings of F. Ruggeri, is a Gallery of priceless paintings and sculptures, the masterpieces of the greatest artists of the day. The left transept is the splendid Corsini Chapel, of which P. F. Silvani was the architect. We believe it to be one of the most graceful compositions in existence. The marble altar itself is very simple, and is flanked by two beautiful Corinthian columns on the pedestals of which are the arms of the Corsini family in coloured marbles. The shafts and the pediment serve as a framework for the enormous and beautiful marble high-relief of St. Andrew Corsini being borne up to Heaven by angels, the work of Foggini. At the foot and appearing above the altar is the elaborately sculptured marble sarcophagus which contains the miraculously preserved body of the Saint, who died in the year 1373. This sarcophagus and the two striking high-reliefs on the side walls, matching that over the altar, are also by Foggini. That on the right wall represents an elaborate battle scene wherein the Florentines, aided by St. Andrew Corsini appearing in the clouds armed with crozier and sword, are overwhelming the army of the Duke of Milan at Anghiari; that on the left depicts the Apparition of Our Lady to the Holy Bishop whilst in the act of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice. The magnificent composition of frescoes adorning the dome of this chapel, the work of Luca Giordano, representing the apotheosis of the Saint, and containing, besides the Trinity, hundreds of saints who welcome the newly arrived soul to the Heavenly Kingdom, is a wonderful study in climbing perspective. In the sacristy, recently restored at the expense of the Corsini family, are preserved the Saint's episcopal throne, the ancient sarcophagus that once contained his body, a large picture by Poccetti of St. Andrew healing a blind man, and a remarkable bust in painted stucco of St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi, a modern work by

CORSINI CHAPEL, CARMELITE CHURCH, FLORENCE

The Black Marble Sarcophagus containing the miraculously preserved body appears just above the Altar.
Marble high relief of St. Andrew Corsini being taken up to heaven, framed by pillars.

Dante Sordini. Indeed, it would require a book all to itself and the pen of a Ruskin to do justice to the historic treasures, the venerable relics, and the works of art contained within the walls of this Carmelite Church and monastery alone, situated in the Piazza del Carmine of Florence.

It is natural that the centre of government should be fixed in the Holy City. In Rome, at the International College of St. Albert, the Prior General of the Calced Carmelites resides with his council of Assistants.

The principal church of the Roman Province, S. Maria in Traspontina, is under his direct jurisdiction. It is situated on the right of the Via del Borgo Nuovo, which leads direct to the Piazza of St. Peter's, and was built in 1556 by Pope Sixtus IV on the site on which there formerly stood a Pyramid supposed to have been erected by Scipio Africanus, who died at Literum, B.C. 183, and which was regarded in the Middle Ages as the tomb of Romulus. This Pyramid is represented on the famous bronze doors of St. Peter's. The church is regarded as one of the most beautiful monuments of the Renaissance, its cupola being the first of its kind known in Rome. It contains paintings by Pinturicchio, Caracci, Caravaggio, and Sebastiano del Piombo. Raphael designed the mosaics of the Chigi Chapel. The sepulchral monuments are costly, including some by the illustrious Sansevino. Among its most precious possessions, however, are two columns bearing inscriptions stating that to them SS. Peter and Paul were respectively bound when they suffered flagellation by Nero's orders. The painted windows are the most beautiful in Rome and were executed by Guillaume de Marcillot in 1509.

But undoubtedly the most beautiful church under the direction of the Roman Carmelites is that of San Martino ai Monti. This church is a study of surpassing interest to the archaeologist, for there are in reality

three churches of different periods one above the other, each of which contains much of the greatest interest for which the uninviting exterior does not prepare one. It was handed over to the Carmelites in the year 1559, and it was remodelled in 1650 in the Generalship of Father Filippini. Since that time it has been restored.

Immediately one enters the upper church the ensemble gives the impression of a perfect harmony, but, gradually, the attention is drawn to and held by two outstanding features, the high altar and the colonnades. From the artistic point of view we believe that the glorious marble altar with its perfect setting, chevet and confessional, is amongst the most beautiful in Rome, if not in the world, the effect of the raised choir preceded by the winding staircases of multi-coloured marbles being highly artistic. The nave is separated from the aisles by twenty-four perfect ancient Corinthian columns, supporting the handsome wooden roof, an addition due to St. Charles Borromeo, at the time Cardinal Protector of the Carmelite Order, which has also been quite recently restored. They are said to have been brought here from the Baths of Trajan or from an ancient palace adjoining these thermae. The aisles are decorated with landscapes which the Carmelites caused to be painted. In the left aisle there are two ancient frescoes of great historical and architectural value, representing the interior of St. John Lateran's, before the restorations which have modernised it, and the interior of old St. Peter's, just as it was under Nicholas V, as it was, consequently, when erected by Constantine in the year 326. Under an altar in this same aisle is miraculously-preserved the body of Blessed Cardinal Guiseppe Maria de Tommassis, who died in 1713, and which may be seen at any time by the visitor. Dressed in full cardinal's robes the body is perfect, showing not even a trace of discolouration. A little

CARMELITE CHURCH, S. MARTINO AI MONTI, ROME

further down is a monumental slab marking the resting-place of Venerable Angelo Paoli, whose cell may be seen in the adjoining monastery just as it was when he occupied it. This holy man was born at Argigliano, Tuscany, in the year 1642, and entered the Carmelite Order at Siena at the age of eighteen years, being ordained to the priesthood at Florence six years later. In 1687 he was called to Rome by his superiors and took up his abode in the convent of San Martino. His entire life was spent in the practice of prayer and mortification, sleeping on the bare ground for one hour only out of every twenty-four. For food he took only a little bread, and his only drink was water. His every spare moment was given up to the service of the sick and poor. Each day he visited the hospital of St. John Lateran, bringing consolation to the sufferers therein. Another of his activities was the foundation of a home for convalescents. So outstanding were his works of charity that he became universally known as "The Father of the Poor." It is related of him that the wherewithal to relieve distress being wanting it was miraculously supplied to him. It is also said that, at the moment of his death on the 20th of June, 1720, he appeared to many persons, whilst the candles surrounding his bier grew neither shorter nor less in weight. In 1781 Pope Pius VI declared his virtues to be heroic. One more miracle is needed for his beatification.

A flight of marble steps leads from this upper church to the Confessional, on the walls of which are two marble incised slabs, one very ancient inscribed in ancient characters with the names of the holy martyrs whose bodies are contained there, the other bearing the same list in modern characters. Thereon we read the names of Popes Sergius, Sylvester, Martin I, Fabian, Stephen I, Soter, Ciriacus, Anastasius, and Innocent I, with those of several other saints who were not popes,

and whose remains were transferred hither from the catacombs. These remains are contained in a sepulchre raised on four marble pillars, forming a baldachino over the altar. In what seems to be an ancient baptismal font behind this altar may be seen a block of rounded marble with a heavy chain attached which is said to have been fastened to the necks of the martyrs before they were thrown into the Tiber.

By an inclined plane we descend to the curious crypt below the Confessional, and are in what was originally the Baths of Trajan. The first Christian building erected on the site was a church built by St. Sylvester in the time of Constantine. On each side of the altar are ancient and dim frescoes of the great Emperor and his mother St. Helena. Some remnants of a marble antependium are said to have been part of the altar used by St. Sylvester himself. The church was reconstructed in the year 500, and was dedicated to SS. Sylvester and Martino, by St. Symmachus, who at the same time prepared a burial place for Martin I, where this Pope was actually buried one hundred and fifty years later. Here, in the year 325, Constantine was present at the Council of Rome, presided over by St. Sylvester, and assembled to confirm the decisions of the Council of Nice. This historical event is represented in the fresco in the left aisle of the upper church. In the walls under the covering roof are to be seen some very ancient paintings now almost faded away. One represents Our Blessed Lady between SS. Agnes and Agatha. Over the altar in the chapel on the left which stands on the spot where St. Sylvester used celebrate the Holy Sacrifice is a very ancient mosaic of the Madonna. In the open, where the roofing no longer exists, and embedded in the wall, are the remains of the back of the ancient papal throne of St. Sylvester, and in front of

this on the ground is the fine sepulchral figure of the Carmelite who was General of the Order in the time of St. Teresa (1515-1582).

Many precious treasures are also preserved in the sacristy, chief amongst them being the most ancient mitre extant, that of St. Sylvester himself, who was the first Latin bishop to wear one. It is a replica of the headdress of the pagan priests of the time, and is quite unlike that worn at present. All told it is only about eight inches high, and is made of very coarse cloth with an archaic image of Our Lady with the Infant in her arms woven on the front in colours, with the subscription Ave Regina Celi. There may also be seen the reliquary containing part of the habit and hair-shirt of St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi.

The throne of Pope Martin, whom Constant II sent to end his days in the depth of the Chersonese, because he had condemned the heresy of the Monothelites, finds a home in this treasure-house.

We have mentioned but a few of the countless priceless relics of the Order selected almost at random as an indication of its past glory and present bright promise. There are many others of a like importance and interest. Indeed, were they collected under the title of the Antiquities of the Carmelite Order they would form in themselves a portly and entrancing volume.

CHAPTER IV

SAINT SIMON STOCK AND THE SCAPULAR DEVOTION

Fair flower of Carmel,
Bloom-bearing vine,
God's splendid marvel—
Maiden with child,
The One peerless She:
Oh! Mother mild,
Yet ever Virgin,
Grant to thy child
The Carmelite guerdon,
Thou Star of the Sea.

Prayer of St. Simon Stock.

Although any account of St. Simon Stock and his spiritual achievements might be said to pertain to the section of this work on the English Province, to which he belonged, yet we consider this an opportune place in which to treat of his association with the Scapular Devotion. But the circumstances of the inception of this devotion played such a paramount part in his life that it will be necessary to write of them both at the same time.

Simon Stock was born about the year 1165 of illustrious English parents at the Castle of Hartford, in the County of Kent, of which his father was governor.

From his tenderest years his thoughts turned to God, and his piety was such as to indicate his remarkable future. At the age of twelve years, urged on by the Spirit

of God, he left home and retired to the solitude of the woods, where the old trunk (or stock) of a tree, in which he could scarcely stand upright, served as his cell. Some historians derive his name from this fact. Others assert that Stock was the name of the place where he was born. Lastly, it is claimed that it was simply a surname. As a matter of fact, such a surname is still to be found in England. He lived solely on wild herbs, drank only water, and passed his days and nights in prayer before a crucifix and an image of the Blessed Virgin. Lost in Divine contemplation he frequently forgot to avail himself of this poor sustenance, and then Heaven intervened to supply the holy solitary with the food necessary to keep alive the feeble flicker of life in a body wasted with the severest mortification. His devotion was especially intense where Mary was concerned, and she would seem to have granted this loving son many favours. He had already lived this penitential life for a space of twenty years, when it was revealed to him that he was to enter the Order of Mount Carmel, which should soon be established in England. So, when the first Carmelites arrived in that country in the year 1212 and took up their abode near the tree, where the Saint had so long dwelt, he at once asked permission to embrace their Rule, to submit himself to their obedience, and to be associated with them in their zealous works. Needless to say, a man of such renowned sanctity was received with great manifestations of joy. For fifteen years he gave himself up to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and, on being ordained to the priesthood, he consecrated himself to the task of preaching the Gospel of Christ. His whole time was divided between the contemplation of heavenly things and the care of the souls under his charge. He, then, set out for Palestine in order to imbibe, at its very source on Mount Carmel, the double spirit of Elias. He lived the

hermitical life there for at least ten years, and was appointed by St. Cyril of Constantinople Vicar General, with plenitude of power to look after the Provinces of Europe, about the year 1224. It is very likely that, in this capacity, he returned to Europe and visited the new foundations, aiding them by his wisdom and saintly counsel. He would also seem to have returned to Carmel, for we know that he voyaged thence with the General, Alan, in the year 1244, when he at once went to Oxford to make himself more proficient in the sacred sciences. Of this we have the assurance of the reliable antiquary, Leland, who writes: "Stock, being now an old man, was not ashamed to complete the studies which he had done imperfectly in his youth. Therefore he went to Oxford (Isidis vadum)—now as formerly the most flourishing of the schools, and won a name and honour among the students." He became the first Bachelor of Divinity, at least of this Order, in the University. The next year, 1245, Alan resigned his office at the General Chapter which he had assembled at the convent of Aylesford in Kent, and St. Simon was chosen to fill the vacant position. The new General gave a fresh impulse to the Order. He threw himself with renewed energy into the work of organising it and strengthening it against the bitter attacks of its implacable enemies, who were jealous of its very existence. It is strange to find this holy man who had spent so many years in absolute solitude, and who now relaxed nothing of his severe personal discipline, entirely in favour of his Order entering the active ministry. That the religious might be prepared for the work he opened up new convents at Cambridge, Oxford, London, York, Paris, Bologna, and Naples. His aim in introducing his subjects into these university cities was two-fold, viz., the educational advantages offered to the students, and, on the other hand, the hope that the salutary influence

of the religious on the undergraduates might induce numbers of these to take the habit of the Order.

The importance of this step can scarcely be overestimated. It offers a lesson as important in these days, if not more so, as in the thirteenth century. A very high standard of education is essential in the priesthood if God's work is to be done efficaciously. It is especially necessary in the religious orders and missionary priests generally. Theirs is a specialised work, if we may be paradoxical, that demands an extensive knowledge of theology and the kindred subjects of literature, architecture, archaeology, history, finance, in a word, of life in all its phases. They are expected to be not only good priests but experts in the limitless science of the saints. A few philosophical phrases, a smattering of theology, the weaving of empty phrases, will never suffice to convince a world that is religiously lukewarm, and, when educated, somewhat sceptical. It is to the religious orders chiefly that the Church has ever looked for her saintly theologians, her deep-thinking philosophers, her well-informed historians, her self-sacrificing champions. In striving to sketch the mentality of St. Simon Stock at this period of his life we are far from detracting from the magnificent work of the Church's great army of secular clergy. We are too fresh from the overwhelming scenes in the Basilica of St. Peter's associated with the exaltation of the Blessed Curé d'Ars to be guilty of any invidious comparison. The fact is that the religious orders are called upon not only to teach the people but to aid, in annual retreats, the very teachers of the people, the priests, the brothers, and the nuns, on whose ministrations the spiritual life of the great multitude depends. Again, in a sense it is their domain, historically it has been, to refute unbelief and heresy. The Church looks to them to supply her polemicists. For that reason mainly she has exempted

them from the exacting labours of parochial work. To leave them free for special studies she has imposed the drudgery of the every-day apostolate on her splendid secular clergy, and she has, consequently, the right to demand from the religious orders a highly-developed preparedness for eventualities. That is their mission. With the vision of the saints Simon Stock appreciated this aspect of the Mendicant vocation, a vocation that might, furthermore, call them to any region and demand a fluency in any language, an adaptability to any conditions. Hence his ambition to establish his subjects contiguous to the great centres of learning that they might be armed with the most complete intellectual panoply that was possible of attainment.

In the Middle Ages the great universities of Europe were conducted on very different lines to those of our own days. The civilised world was then Catholic. Christian philosophy and Catholic theology were the most important " chairs." Learning was not as widely spread as now. That medium of its expansion, the printing-press, was unknown. Even amongst the nobility the art of writing was an unusual accomplishment. Learning was centred in the university cities and the universities were cosmopolitan. The genius of the world gathered there from the ends of the earth, for there alone was opportunity for the ambitions of the scholar. Thus it is easy to understand the necessity that compelled the Church to congregate at these centres her princes of intellect, and the inspiration that led St. Simon and his successors to follow her example. In these days at least the Church's first line of defence was made up of the Mendicant Orders. It was necessary that they should have at the universities men who could more than hold their own with the best, whose habits should do honour to the rostrum and grace the professor's chair. Thus was the Church exalted; the intel-

lectuals taught to respect her; her teaching authority made paramount. Thus had she her champions on the spot where the hydra-headed monster of intellectual pride was most likely to unfurl the accursed banner of heresy and unbelief. Thus eventuated the historical fact that the religious orders have ever been the rocks upon which heresy was wrecked.

The success of the scheme was wonderful, so that the English Province surpassed all others in splendour, edification, and learning, and continued to do so for nigh three hundred years. But this very success, combined with the fact that the Carmelite Rule was much more strict than that of similar institutes, gave rise to a senseless jealousy and a concomitant persecution that seemed at times capable of effecting the extinction of the Carmelite name. "Envy is the rottenness of the bones. He that oppresseth the poor upbraideth his Maker; but he that hath pity on the poor honoureth Him. The wicked man shall be driven out in his wickedness: but the just hath hope in his death." Eventual triumph is the portion of him who suffers for Justice's sake. The Bull of Honorius III, given on the 30th of January, 1226, confirming the Rule, had for the time being restrained the malevolence of the enemies of Carmel. But it soon broke out anew and the persecution became more violent than ever. The friars groaned beneath the heavy burden of suffering, but none was more affected than the aged saint whose paternal heart was wrung by the injustices heaped upon his sons, but whose courage seemed only to increase under persecution. He put his whole trust in God. His days and nights were passed in prayer and penitential exercises. At the foot of the altar he offered himself as a holocaust to the Lord if only He should deign to restore calm and peace to his Order. But it was to Mary especially that the holy General addressed himself.

As the persecution increased, his confidence in this august Queen increased proportionately. He compelled her intercession, as it were, making it her cause as well as his, since it was the venerable Order that bore her name that was endangered. Ceaselessly he repeated that trustful prayer that he had specially composed in her honour, knowing how his simple offering must appeal to her maternal heart in this day of stress for the Order of Mount Carmel :

Fair flower of Carmel,
Bloom-bearing vine,
God's splendid marvel—
Maiden with child,
The One peerless She :
Oh ! Mother mild,
Yet ever Virgin,
Grant to thy child
The Carmelite guerdon,
Thou Star of the Sea.

So persevering a confidence could not fail to be rewarded. On the 16th of July, 1251, a day ever memorable for the sons of Carmel and all true devotees of Mary, St. Simon, bowed down in lowly prayer even before the dawn of day, lost in an ecstasy of profound contemplation, saw the heavens suddenly open and the Mother of God appear to him surrounded by a legion of angels, enveloped in a great light, the Divine Infant smiling in her arms, and holding in her hands the Scapular of the Order. " Receive, my dear son," said she to him, " this scapular of your Order, as the distinctive sign of my confraternity, and as the guarantee for the privilege which I have obtained for you and for the children of Carmel. Those who shall die clothed with this habit will not suffer the eternal fires. It is a

sign of salvation, a safeguard in perils, and the pledge of peace and of my special protection to the end of time."

This vision was vouchsafed the saintly General at the Carmelite convent of Cambridge. One can fancy the pious sentiments that overwhelmed him on the receipt of this precious pledge from Mary. What is certain is that, on recovering from his ecstasy, he felt himself constrained to make known so momentous a favour in the interests of the salvation of souls, and that he wrote to all the convents of his Order a detailed account of his vision.

We do not enter into any discussion as to the authenticity of the Scapular Vision. We here give the traditional account of that most important event, believing it to be proved correct by the weight of external and documentary evidence, as well as by contemporary and subsequent tradition. Nor do we treat of the dogmatic explanation of the promise made by Our Lady. Excellent works have recently been published [1] dealing fully with the subject. Popular devotion to the Holy Scapular, as it is officially named, was undoubtedly propagated shortly after the date of the Vision. Some authorities are satisfied that St. Simon instituted at Cambridge a Confraternity of the Scapular in organic dependence on the Carmelite Order, to unite the devout clients of Mary in certain regular exercises of religion and piety. The Rev. R. Masters believes that this Cambridge Confraternity existed as early as the year 1272. In the year 1280 there was such a Confraternity in full working order at Florence, and it is interesting to note that the simple legislative code in use in these far-off days is almost identical with that used to the present day by the

[1] *Cf.* Bibliography.

members of the Scapular Confraternity. It is said that the Saint cured several people by giving them the Scapular and that these miracles helped in a great measure to give an impulse to the devotion.

Simon Stock was a man of extraordinary energy and of dauntless courage. That same determined will to carry into execution whatever appealed to him as right and in accordance with the Will of God, that sent him as a boy from the warmth of the paternal hearth to the cold solitude of a tree-trunk in the uninhabited woods, had made him undertake the supreme government of his Order at an age (80) when the vast majority of men are prepared to die. Yet he continued to direct its destinies for twenty years. The difficulties he had had to face would have broken the courage of many a younger man, yet he set himself all but single-handed to fight powerful alliances and a countless enemy. He yielded no inch of ground before their most virulent attacks, but steadily invaded their strongholds one after the other. He set his beloved Order on a strong foundation, surrounded it with the protecting ramparts of Apostolic approval, raised its efficiency to the highest pitch, extended its activities on all sides, till it became, in England at least, the Church's first line of defence and her most formidable weapon for repelling heretical attacks on her integrity. Yet he found time, amidst the countless exacting duties of his Generalship, to write many works of considerable importance, both in prose and verse. Two poetical orisons have lived in the public esteem down through the long ages since he inscribed them in Mary's honour, the " Flos Carmeli " of which a translation is given above, and the beautiful " Ave Stella Matutina " which is recited every day in the Carmelite Breviary. Feeling that his end was approaching he asked for, and was given, a coadjutor. After the example of Elias, who, before being taken up

to Heaven in the fiery chariot, wished to visit his sons spread throughout Palestine, St. Simon, in spite of his great age, set out to visit all his convents, to sustain the feeble, to reanimate those whose fervour had grown cold, and to encourage the fervent to essay still higher paths. He wished to communicate to all something of that heroic courage that even now sustained him. Finding himself unable to overtake all, he wrote to those whom he could not visit letters full of charity and a truly paternal tenderness. Arrived at Bordeaux, being now over an hundred years of age, he found himself exhausted by his ceaseless labours and the weight of years. Knowing that his last hour was approaching he exhorted his sons to persevere in the strict observance of the Rules and Constitutions, to cultivate a still more ardent love and devotion to the most holy Virgin, and never to lose sight of their obligation of obedience to the Supreme Pontiff. Having received the Last Sacraments with a fervour that brought the tears to the eyes of the bystanders, he died on the 16th of May, 1265.

He was buried in the Cathedral of Bordeaux, and was almost immediately cultivated as a Saint. Pope Nicholas III granted that an Office might be celebrated in his honour on the anniversary of his death each year in that city. This Office was extended to the entire Order by Paul V.

The Saint had feared a renewal of the onslaught on his Order, and had warned the brethren to be prepared to meet it when it came. The singular favour that Our Lady had shown the religious of Mount Carmel did not deter their enemies from assailing them with renewed bitterness, as is evident from contemporary documents. Thus, in October, 1282, we find Pierre de Millau, Prior General, requesting the English king, Edward I, to intercede with the Pope on their behalf. The king immediately acceeded to his request, and, on the 16th of

October of the same year, he ordered letters to be written to several of the Cardinals begging them to look after the interests of the Carmelites. On two other occasions we find his successor on the throne, Edward II, interceding with Popes Clement V and John XXII, respectively, on the 24th of August, 1311, and the 12th of March, 1317.[1]

Half a century after the vision to St. Simon Stock the Blessed Virgin appeared to Pope John XXII, and urged him to take the Order of Mount Carmel under his protection. She promised him that she would assist the souls of the members in Purgatory, and deliver them from their sufferings on the first Saturday after death. Pope John published this favour in a Bull given at Avignon on the 3rd of March, 1322. In his *The Sabbatine Privilege of the Scapular* Father Magennis inserts the authentic transcript of the Sabbatine Bull, wherein Pope John gives his own account of the Vision :

" So as I prayed with bended knees, the Virgin of Carmel seemed to me to speak these words : O ! John, Vicar of my well-beloved Son, I shall snatch thee, as it were, from thy foe. Thee, who art Pope, I make my vicar for the solemn gift which I have obtained by favour with the help of my prayers, sought from my Son. So it behoveth thee to grant favour and confirmation amply to my holy and devout Order of Carmel, which took its rise with Elias and Eliseus on the mountain of that name. That whoso maketh profession, whoso observeth the Rule drawn up by my servant Albert the Patriarch, whoso unfailingly sheweth obedience thereunto, and that which has been approved by my dear son Innocent, so that thou mayest accept through the Vicar of my Son on earth, what my Son hath ordained in Heaven. That he who shall have

[1] This correspondence is translated in full in Part II, ch. 10.

persevered in holy obedience, poverty and chastity, or shall enter the Holy Order, shall be saved. And if others, for the sake of devotion shall enter holy religion, bearing the sign of the sacred habit, and calling themselves associates of either sex of my aforesaid Order, they shall be freed and absolved from a third part of their sins on what day they enter the aforesaid Order; promising chastity if a widow be in question; and pledging troth to virginity, if a virgin; if married, observing marital faith unbroken, as holy mother church doth ordain. So let the professed members of the said Order be freed from punishment and from guilt on what day they go from this world; so that with hastened step they may pass over Purgatory, I, the Mother of Grace, shall descend on the Saturday after their death and whoso I shall find in Purgatory, I shall free, so that I may lead them unto the holy mountain of life everlasting. 'Tis true that you brothers and sisters are bound to recite the Canonical Hours, as it behoveth according to the Rule given by Albert. Those who are ignorant must lead a life of fasting on those days on which holy church doth so ordain. Moreover, unless through some necessity they be involved in some difficulty, they must abstain from flesh meat on Wednesday and Saturday, except on the birthday of my Son. Now when these words had been uttered, the sacred vision departed.

" Therefore I accept that holy indulgence, I guarantee it and confirm it, even as through the Virgin Mother of Grace, Jesus Christ granted it in heaven. Be it therefore forbidden to all to make void this document of our indulgence or statute or decree, or to go against it by any rash endeavour. But if any one presume to make such an attempt, be it known to him that he shall incur the anger of the Almighty God, and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul,

" Given at Avignon on the third day of March in the sixth year of our pontificate."

Alexander V confirmed this Bull in another, *Tenorem Cujusdem Privilegii*, given at Rome on the 7th of December, 1409, and the great pontiff Benedict XIV defended the apparition against rash critics.

This promise of freeing the souls from Purgatory on the first Saturday after death is the second great privilege accorded by the Blessed Virgin to those who wear the Brown Scapular,—" The Holy Scapular," as it is officially named,—on condition of their fulfilling the necessary conditions.

The Popes have vied with each other in showering favours and indulgences on the Scapular Devotion. We might mention the following: Alexander V, Clement VII, Paul III, St. Pius V, Clement VIII, Gregory XIII, Paul V, Clement X, Innocent XI, and others.

From its inception the devotion of the Brown Scapular spread far and wide with the greatest rapidity. It is, and has been, worn by people of every condition and class. Among the notable persons who have practised the devotion in a special manner were the Sovereign Pontiffs, besides those given above, Clement XI, Benedict XII, and Benedict XIV, and the princes St. Louis, King of France, his mother Blanche of Castile, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV, and, of the English kings, Edward I and Edward II.

Indeed it may be said without exaggeration that the Scapular devotion is as universal as the Church herself. " No other devotion," writes the Rev. M. C. Seeberger, C.PP.S., " can outrival this one, neither as regards its popularity, nor in regard to its extension."

From the Bull of Pope John XXII, and what we have written elsewhere, it will be seen that the Carmelite

Order may be divided into four very definite and distinct groups of members, viz.,

1. The solemnly professed priests and brothers, who comprise the First Order.

2. The Carmelite nuns who take solemn vows and live a cloistered life, or combine the contemplative and active lives. These are known as the Second Order.

3. The Third Order, consisting of persons who, though living in the world, take simple vows of chastity and obedience, and cannot, in consequence, enter the married state.[1]

4. The Carmelite or Scapular Confraternity.

Of the Carmelite nuns we will write in another chapter, whilst we will treat briefly here of the Third Order and the Confraternity.

After the Carmelites came to Europe the severity of the Rule, the observance of which was most exact, and, above all, the fact that it was Our Blessed Lady's own Order, specially devoted to her service, won for it a great admiration and love. Were other proof needed, the devotion to it of princes and people alike, their anxiety to erect ever more and more new foundations, and the plentiful and generous donations of land and money for this purpose, would suffice. But perhaps the best test of the devotional enthusiasm it inspired is provided by the fact that numberless pious souls, living in the world and prevented by circumstances from entering the cloister, soon sought to attach themselves more or less closely to it, and to emulate the lives of the holy friars and nuns. It is known that there were Confraternities of Our Lady of Mount Carmel established at Toulouse as early as 1273 and at Bologna in 1280. The

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[1] The new Constitutions of the Third Order drastically alter this ancient legislation. The obligation of chastity is now "according to one's state in life," and, therefore, does not forbid marriage.

exact nature, however, of these is not known, but we read of some who wore the habit and observed the Rule of the Order. Others again led the life of anchorites near to the Carmelite churches. The form of profession made by these latter is as follows: "I, brother (name inserted), called by the Holy Ghost to a life of seclusion, offer myself before God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and promise to live the life of an anchorite in the service of God, in accordance with the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and to persevere in that life until death."

Lastly, there were tertiaries, who lived their individual lives in the world and not in any form of community. Of these, for instance, was Blessed Louis Morbioli. In early life he had been led astray by bad companions. Stricken down with a dangerous malady and at death's door he was horrified at the thought of the Divine Judgment that should overtake him after death. So deep an impression did this thought make on him that he resolved, should he live, to renounce his former sinfulness and devote the remainder of his life entirely to the service of God. He rose from his bed of sickness a new man. His first act was to surrender all his worldly possessions to his brother, and, having done so, to seek admission to the Third Order of the Carmelites. Casting aside the rich garments he had loved to wear he donned a ragged tunic of the poorest material, and barefooted, even in the depth of winter, went about the highways and byeways publicly begging pardon of all for his former bad example. He bore a staff on which a figure of Christ was mounted. Thus habited and armed the holy man went from one of the great Italian cities to another exhorting all to do penance for their sins. So abundant was the fruit of this great austerity that he was regarded as an apostle called by God to correct the immorality of the age.

Not yet satisfied, Louis ever sought new ways of mortifying his body. His food was nothing more than bread and uncooked vegetables; his bed, the bare ground; his pillow, a stone or log of wood. Nor had he any home except towards the end of his life, and then it was but an exceedingly small cupboard under the stairs in the home of one Paul Luparus, which was later converted into an oratory, and is preserved in that character to this day. It was there that he foretold the date of his death, received the Last Sacraments, and, spurning the softness of the bed on which he had been laid in his extreme illness, threw himself on the rough ground and breathed forth his purified spirit into the hands of God, Whom he had so faithfully served. Louis died in the odour of sanctity in the year 1495. He was immediately recognised as a Saint, and great crowds flocked to see him in death, and later to visit his tomb. Many favours were obtained by those who sought his intercession. He became the exemplar of the true penitent, and was soon regarded as a very powerful advocate with God on behalf of poor sinners. His cult having persevered during four hundred years, he was beatified by Pope Gregory XVI, who appointed an Office to be recited in his honour. His feast is celebrated in the Carmelite Order on the 15th of March.

Thus it may be seen to what heights of sanctity people living in the world may attain, aided by the numberless indulgences and spiritual privileges, and guided by such a rule of life as that drawn up for those who enrol themselves in the Third Order of the Carmelites.

The Rule of the Third Order was originally the same as that observed by the friars but with certain modifications necessary for its observance by men and women living in the world. A new Rule, however, was composed in the year 1635 by Father Theodore Stratius, General of the Carmelites, which is observed to this

day. Amongst other things it requires the recitation of the Canonical Hours, or of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, or thirty-five Paters and Aves daily. The tertiaries are further required to meditate for one half hour morning and evening, to fast on all Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, from the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th of September) till Easter of the following year, and to abstain on these three days during Advent and Lent. Where this is impossible or very difficult of observance recourse must be had to the local superior, who may use his discretion in granting a dispensation.

The Third Order of Carmelites is, therefore, " a holy and devout congregation of pious persons, associated to the Order of Mount Carmel, for the purpose of honouring God in a special manner, and the most holy Virgin, by simple vows of chastity and obedience to the Superior General of the said Order and his representatives, in things relating to their Rule and Statutes, or Constitutions."

In the early days of the Third Order of Carmelites the members who vowed themselves thus to the service of God and Mary are said to have been as numerous as those who took solemn vows and lived in the cloister. Up to the middle of the fifteenth century the Third Order existed on the sole authority of the Carmelite superiors, but it was canonically instituted by Pope Nicholas V on the 7th of October, 1452, at the request of Blessed John Soreth, General of the Order, granting to its members the same privileges as those enjoyed by the tertians of the Orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Augustine. It was further approved by Pope Sixtus IV in 1476, by the Bull " Mare Magnum Privilegiorum," and again by Benedict XIII and his successors. In his Bull Sixtus IV granted to the tertians all the indulgences previously granted, or to be granted

in future to the religious of the Order who make solemn vows. And the same Pope adds : " If any person should with temerity attempt to oppose or violate these our Letters, let him know that he incurs the indignation of Almighty God, and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul."

The Third Order has produced illustrious saints and venerable servants of God. There are to-day countless men and women, spread throughout the world, whether in community or out in the world, living as Tertians, and observing the Rule in all its strictness.

One of the most powerful advocates of the Third Order of Carmelites was our Blessed Joanna of Toulouse, who received the habit from St. Simon Stock, when, as General, he made a visitation of the houses of the Order in her native city. She became a recluse tertian. A short biography of the saintly woman will be of interest.

She was born at the beginning of the thirteenth century of parents of the highest rank. So striking was the piety of the child that it won the admiration of all. From the beginning she sought to follow in the footsteps of the saints, and saw an opportunity of imitating their great deeds when the Carmelites, shortly arrived from Palestine, took up their abode in her native town of Toulouse. She frequented their church, received the Sacraments from their hands, and as far as possible imitated their life. When St. Simon Stock arrived on his visitation she begged of him time and again to give her the habit of the Order, which at last he did, when she made her vow of chastity, and promised to observe the Rule of the Order in its entirety. Henceforth she advanced by leaps and bounds in the practice of the virtues of humility, patience, the custody of the senses, and bodily mortification. Her love of Christ Suffering was so extraordinary that the Crucifix was to her a book

to be constantly studied, meditated upon, carried about, kissed, and bedewed with tears. She never spared herself where there were poor to be helped or sick to be cared for and consoled. But above all she laboured to correct the errors that were sapping the Faith of her countrymen. A short while before the Scapular Confraternity had been established, and seeing therein the means of winning the people from their errors, she persuaded several thousands to enrol themselves in it. She laboured also exceedingly hard to promote the Third Order, and with such good success that she was regarded in her native city as its founder. Joanna died a saintly death on the 31st of March, 1286, and was buried with great ceremony in the church of the Carmelites. The citizens flocked to her tomb to seek her intercession, and pilgrimages thereto became frequent. She was at last beatified by Leo XIII.

Another famous anchorite was the Carmelite tertian, Thomas Scrope (alias Bradley), who lived in a hermitage attached to the Bradley Priory, Norwich. He was afterwards consecrated Titular Bishop of Dromore in Ireland, and was later appointed Apostolic Legate in Rhodes.

The Carmelite Confraternity includes all those who, living in the world and wearing piously the Holy Scapular, have their names entered on the Roll of this Society and observe its rules faithfully. The Confraternity is grounded on the words of Our Lady to St. Simon Stock, and the declarations of several popes, who, in their Bulls have joined persons of all stations and of both sexes into a spiritual community declaring them partakers in all the prayers, disciplines, alms, watchings, fasts, Masses, Canonical Hours, mortifications, austerities, and good works, which are performed in the Carmelite Order. The rules of the Confraternity are exceedingly simple and are possible of observance

by all. They will be found in The Manual of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, known as *The Carmelite Manual*, and compiled by the Very Rev. Dr. John Spratt, O.C.C., or in the splendidly edited *Carmelite Devotional Handbook*, by the Rev. Dr. Taylor, O.C.C., which has just come from the press.[1]

FEAST OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL

One of the Saint's most earnest desires was that each year, on the 16th of July, the Order should make a Solemn Commemoration of the reception of the Scapular from Our Lady.

There is a controversy among recent writers on the Scapular as to the origin of the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. A full account of the arguments on both sides may be found in *The Scapular and Some Critics* (c. 26). We have no intention of taking part in such a controversy. We merely state the opinion to which we adhere, viz., the opinion so ably defended in the above work. In company with the author we reject the surmises of Fathers Zimmerman, Thurston, and others for we are convinced that the occasion that gave rise to the observance of the Feast was neither solely the approbation of the Rule by Honorius III nor the Chester miracle,[2] but primarily the Scapular Vision itself, and that it was celebrated, in the English Province at least, long before the dates assigned by the above writers. In many places the Feast of the Assumption had been solemnised as the Patron Feast of the Carmelite Order, but, in 1609, it was decreed that henceforth the Feast of the Solemn Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (the 16th of July) should

[1] Published by James Duffy & Co., Dublin.
[2] *Cf.* ch. xii, p. 130.

supersede it, being celebrated as a Duplex Majus of the First Class with a Vigil and a Privileged Octave. On the 24th of September, 1726, the Feast was extended to the entire Latin Church by Benedict XIII.

One of the greatest privileges of the Order was, in 1892, attached to the celebration of the Feast by Pope Leo XIII. The following is a translation of the Brief:

LEO P. P. XIII, FOR A PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE.

In order that the devotion and piety of the faithful towards the most Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel may increase ever more and more, since from that source flow the richest and most wholesome fruits for souls, We, according to the request of our beloved son, Aloysius Maria Galli, General of the said Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, of the ancient observance, have decided to enrich the Carmelite churches with a singular privilege. Wherefore, confiding in the mercy of the Almighty God and the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, we grant to all and each of the faithful of both sexes, who being truly penitent and having received the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion, shall devoutly visit any of the churches or public chapels in any place wheresoever of the Friars or Sisters of the whole Carmelite Order, both the Calced and Discalced, in any year on the 16th of July, on which the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel is kept, from the first Vespers until sunset of that day, and shall address pious prayers to God for the peace of Christian princes, the extirpation of heresies, the conversion of sinners, and the exaltation of our Holy Mother the Church—to these we mercifully grant in the Lord, as often as they shall do so, a Plenary Indulgence and remission of their sins, which they may also

apply to the Souls of the faithful who have departed this life in charity with God.

Notwithstanding Our Apostolic Chancery's Rule of not granting indulgences *ad instar*, and other apostolic institutions and orders and whatever else there might be to the contrary; and the present shall be valid for all future times.

And We will that the same faith which would be exhibited to the original letter were it shown, shall also be bestowed upon copies printed or otherwise of the same, provided they be signed with the seal of a person constituted in ecclesiastical dignity.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, the 16th of July, 1892, of Our Pontificate the fifteenth year.

In the above Brief the Holy Father granted a Plenary Indulgence, under the usual conditions, applicable to the souls in Purgatory, as often as a visit was paid to a *Carmelite Church from the first vespers of the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel until sunset on the day itself, i.e.*, from about 3 p.m. on July 15th till about 8 p.m. on July 16th. Under the legislation of Pius X, however, two alterations have now effect:

1. By a decree of the Holy Office, dated the 26th of January, 1911, the time for gaining the indulgence of the feasts "toties quoties" was changed to one of greater convenience; namely, the time begins now at noon of the day preceding the feast and ends at midnight of the feast itself.

2. All the indulgences attached to the Feast can be gained by visits to the parish church, where there is no Carmelite Church, or a church of the Carmelite Confraternity, that can be visited. "This does not hold good," writes Fr. Magennis, "in reference to the *toties quoties* indulgence, although it is so stated in some of

the booklets treating of these indulgences. However, since the permission granted by Pope Pius X to the General of the Carmelites it appears to hold good for the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel."

The Sabbatine Privilege was granted in the year 1322, so that in 1922, the Carmelite Order celebrated the sixth centenary of this extraordinary event.

CHAPTER V

THE SECOND MITIGATION OF THE PRIMITIVE RULE. ST. PETER THOMAS

"Yet in this heathen war the fire of God
Fills him; I never saw his like: there lives
No greater leader."

The migration of the Carmelite Order from the East to the West had made an alteration of the Primitive Rule necessary.

As the occupied territory became ever more and more congested the impossibility of continuing the hermitical life was made evident. Besides, the seclusion of the early Middle Ages was yielding to a more turbulent mode of living in which there was no room for it. Lastly, increasing populations demanded a greater number of workers in the vineyard of the Lord. It was surely not without much regret that such an ascetic as St. Simon Stock was compelled to face the necessity of adopting the mixed in place of the purely contemplative life. Yet, once he recognised that such a course was unavoidable, he threw himself into the work of reorganisation with his whole spirit.

It had soon become evident, however, that he would have to go further, and that a mitigation of the severity of the Rule was essential if the religious were to efficiently carry out the duties that the active ministry imposed on them.

Although he obtained certain relaxations the

Carmelite vocation was still exceedingly exacting, much more so than that of the other mendicant orders. It remained thus to the time when the awful pestilence known as the "Black Death" swept over Europe. This occurred in the lifetime of St. Peter Thomas with whose name, as far as Carmelite history is concerned, it is inseparably associated.

Peter Thomas [1] was born in the year 1305 in the little village of Lebriel in the obscure parish of Salles, province of Aquitane, South Western France, of parents who were extremely poor but eminently pious. So courageously did he fight adversity that he became wonderfully proficient in grammar and rhetoric and was, before his twentieth year, a Master in Philosophy with many followers.

Having made his way to Agen, where the educational opportunities were of a high order, he became a constant visitor at the Church of the Carmelites in that town. The prior, won by the humility and evident scholarship of the young visitor, persuaded him to undertake the education of the students. Here he made the acquaintance of the prior of the Carmelite novitiate at Condom, with whom he returned on a visit. Edified by the strictness of the life, the holy youth took the habit of the Order, being professed at the age of twenty years. He next proceeded to the study of philosophy and theology at the convents of Bordeaux, Albi, and Agen, and, his course completed, was unwillingly raised to the dignity of the priesthood in 1331-2. Shortly after, he was entrusted with the responsibility of teaching the young students of the Order at Agen. But the work was hampered by the great poverty of the convent, since not even the necessary books could be procured. In

[1] *Cf.* Vita et res gesta B. Petri Thomae (publ. 1637), Father Luke Wadding, O.F.M.

this plight, as in all other difficulties, he had recourse to the Blessed Virgin. She had already given him a signal mark of her love when, shortly after taking the habit, he had besought her to allay the persecutions that threatened the existence of her Order here as elsewhere. On the night of Pentecostes she had appeared to this latest son when she promised that the Order, specially devoted to her cult, should never be destroyed, but should survive to the end of time,—a promise commemorated afterwards in the following lines:

Dum fluet unda Maris, curretque per aethera Phoebus,
Vivet Carmeli candidus Ordo mihi:

Again she appeared to her devotee, surrounded by a light of heavenly brilliance, to whom she spoke: "Fear not, my son; be not troubled about your material wants; continue to study with ardour; serve me and my Son faithfully; I shall never abandon you." The next morning he said the Mass of the Blessed Virgin as a token of gratitude, immediately after which a stranger presented himself and gave the Saint a large and unsolicited alms sufficient to supply the wants of the community. We are told that the devotion of the young Carmelite to this generous Mother was so intense, her name was so constantly in his thoughts and on his lips, that about this time the word "Mary" was engraven upon his heart.

The policy of the Mendicant Orders had always been to secure a first-class intellectual training for their subjects so as to fit them for their missionary work, and to equip them with the weapons for the successful combating of heresy. To this end, St. Simon Stock had opened, amongst others, a convent contiguous to the University of Paris in the year 1254. Thither Peter Thomas was now sent, although already a theologian of

standing, to complete his studies. With his accustomed intense application our Saint soon outstripped all other students, became a Doctor of Theology, a Professor in the University, and wrote an admirable Treatise on the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

Avignon had, before the advent of the Papacy, been an insignificant city. But the elite and wealth of the world now gathered there. The extent of the Bishop's residence was enormously increased by John XXII, and later there arose the magnificent Palace of the Popes. Morality is sure to suffer wherever there is too great wealth, and the corruption of morals made frightful progress in Avignon.

Clement VI was a man celebrated for immense theological knowledge, for a marvellous memory, and, above all, for rare eloquence. It was under this Pope that Peter Thomas became prominent at the Avignon court. Because of his great learning, wealth of theological lore, and wonderful eloquence, he was appointed official preacher, and, soon after, consultor theologian of the Papal Court. Of Avignon, which had abandoned itself to the enjoyment of its wealth, our Saint became the Apostle.

In the thirteenth century the dreaded " Black Death " was carried back from the East, possibly by the returning crusaders. An epidemic of the terrible disease broke out in a still more virulent form. In the years 1347 to 1350 it swept over all Europe, claiming as its victims one quarter of the entire population. Boccacio, in the introduction to his Decameron, gives a most vivid description of its physical and moral effects at Florence in 1348. In that same year it appeared in Avignon. The symptoms of the disease were bubonic plague with pulmonary infection. It usually seized on its victims suddenly, and death ensued within three days, often after a few hours. Medical science knew no

remedy for the novel scourge and was helpless in face of the enormous extent of the pestilence, so that, in despair of doing anything worth while to check its spread, the sick were abandoned to their fate. Few more mischievous lies have ever been printed than that the priests abandoned the sufferers. The clergy, as a rule, were heroic in their devotion, and the religious orders of mendicants displayed tremendous self-sacrifice. It was almost certain death to come in contact with the affected, and few who did so escaped. Before the end of the first year the plague was responsible for 150,000 deaths in the city of Avignon alone. Most of the secular priests died, and the spiritual and physical care of the citizens was left almost entirely to the religious orders. From their first coming to France the Carmelites had made the City of the Popes their parent city, and they had established there a great convent designed to house a large community. Everywhere they proved themselves zealous in bringing the consolations of religion to the sufferers without a thought of their own safety, with the result that more than sixty of them gave up their lives in the performance of their priestly duty. Peter Thomas did giant work, but God was pleased to reserve him from amongst his brethren for further labours in His service and in that of his Order.

The losses that the Carmelites sustained at this time were so enormous that the extinction of the Order seemed inevitable. Our Saint was stricken with grief at the possibility, but, remembering Mary's promise made to him earlier in his life, he put all his trust in her powerful intercession. Again she responded to the appeal of her servant, and her answer to his prayers on this occasion has ever since been one of the greatest glories and best assurances of the Order of Mount Carmel. " While ardently beseeching the Blessed Virgin

to preserve her Order of Mount Carmel," says the Saint, "a great sadness took possession of me, and I soon became unconscious of the things around me. While in that state Our Lady appeared to me, and answered my prayer, saying: Cease to fear for your Order, Peter; the Order of Carmelites will last to the end of time, for Elias, its ancient patron and founder, prayed for the Carmelites when he conversed with my Son on the day of the Transfiguration and his prayer was heard." This is the account of the vision given by John Heldensheimensis, the companion of our saint, who says that he got him to relate it after many petitions.

On the 5th of December, 1352, Pope Clement VI, who had done much to alleviate the sufferings of the plague-stricken, and who, alone of the powers of Europe, had defended the unfortunate Jews who were being persecuted as the cause of the pestilence, died, and Peter Thomas was chosen by the Cardinals and the late Pope's relations to preach the funeral orations. During the transference of the corpse to the monastery of Casa-Dei, where Clement had been abbot, the cortege rested at twelve places, and at each place he preached a remarkable sermon.

Innocent VI, who succeeded, soon recognised the great worth of the saintly Carmelite. He appointed him Papal Legate to the North of Italy, then to Naples, later, Papal Nuncio to Charles IV, and Apostolic Legate to the King of the Rascians. Before departing on this last important mission he was consecrated, in the Cathedral of Avignon, Bishop of the united sees of Patti and Lipari, in Sicily. The proud and insolent king, who had thought to compel the dignified and dauntless Papal Legate to kneel publicly and kiss his feet, was reconciled and converted by the mild, yet unswerving, demeanour of the representative of the Supreme Pontiff. In 1356 he was commissioned as Papal Legate to bring

about a reconciliation between the Venetians and the Hungarians who were at war, and, in the same capacity, to proceed to Constantinople to labour for the reunion of the Greek schismatics with the Holy See. The result of this mission was that the Emperor and many of his followers submitted to the Sovereign Pontiff. From Constantinople he went to Cyprus, where he fell seriously ill and was nursed back to health by the personal attendance of Hugo, the king, and Leonora, his queen. Returning to Palestine he made his way to Mount Carmel, on the summit of which he found the ruins of the monastery from which, a century before, the brethren had been driven out by the Saracens. Thence he made his way, disguised as a pilgrim, to Jerusalem, where he so zealously exhorted the Christians to fidelity and a reverence for the Holy Places that the Saracens sought his life. To their threats the holy Legate answered that nothing would be so pleasing to him as to lay down his life there where the Saviour of mankind had died for the redemption of the race, and to their very faces he spoke of his abhorrence of Mohammedanism, and exalted Christianity. This courageous challenge uttered, he walked right through the midst of his angry enemies, treating with contempt their threats and curses. Yet not one of them dared to lay violent hands upon him. When it was found that his influence, not only with the Christians but with the Saracens also, was daily growing stronger the bigotry of the infidel masters was aroused and the Sultan of Egypt ordered his arrest, so that he was forced to fly to Cyprus for safety.

In 1359 Innocent VI sent an army to Constantinople to aid the Greeks to resist the inroads of the Turks. The Carmelite bishop was appointed organiser and chief leader of the expedition, and Universal Legate of the whole Eastern Church. Besides the arduous

labours his official position imposed he unofficially sought to bring about the so-much-desired union of the Greeks to the Western Church. The Turks were successfully driven back, but they, later, attacked Smyrna, the capital of Asia Minor, where the city was saved through the diplomacy and courage of Peter Thomas. The Abbe Darras,[1] in that precise style which makes a long quotation excusable, describes this phase of our Saint's career:

"There was, at Avignon, a man whose energy and talent seemed to warrant, for the expedition to the East, a success like that of Cardinal Albornoz in the Peninsula. This was Blessed Peter Thomas, an apostle, a diplomatist, a dauntless warrior, equally pre-eminent in the council and in the field. Repeated missions had made him thoroughly acquainted with the wants and the manners of the people of the East. Innocent appointed him legate *a latere*, and intrusted him with the organization of a Crusade. With a fleet of Venetian galleys and the squadron of the Knights of Rhodes, Thomas visited Smyrna and the other seaports of the Asiatic coast, inspired the Christians with new hope and courage and at length reached Constantinople, where he was received with transports of joy; the schismatical Patriarch was deposed, and the emperor tendered to the legate his oath of fidelity to the Holy See. Thomas laid seige to Lampsacus, and took it by storm in sight of a Turkish fleet, powerless to defend it. The islands of Crete and Cyprus abjured the schism and acknowledged the Roman supremacy. After these brilliant successes, Thomas returned to Europe to obtain additional forces; but he did not find Innocent VI, who had sunk under the weight of years

[1] History of the Church.

and infirmities on the 22nd of September, A.D. 1362, in the tenth year of his Pontificate."

A second outbreak of the dreaded Black Plague in Cyprus brought terror to the hearts of the inhabitants of the island. The Saint prayed God night and day to turn aside the awful menace, instituting at the same time a term of intense supplication during which the entire people, following their leader's example, went bareheaded and barefooted. Daily he preached in the Cathedral of Necosia calling on all to do penance and offer satisfaction for their sins, and ordered, in addition, a day of universal fast. The people assembled in the Cathedral on the day appointed, clothed in penitential garb. Throwing himself on his knees before a great crucifix the Saint prayed that God might have pity on the suffering people. Then the entire people, not excepting the king and queen, robed in the garb of penance, went in procession through the city. The Legate, barefooted, with ashes strewn on his head, a rope round his neck, and a great cross upon his shoulders, offered himself, after the manner of the Man of Sorrows, a victim for the sins of the unfortunate people. His petition was heard. The plague never touched Necosia. With an absolute disregard of his own safety he now hastened to the relief of Famagosta, where he laboured indefatigably for forty days. He called for a repetition of the rigorous exercises that had already won the favour of Heaven for Necosia. He did not limit his ministrations to the Christians, but won the gratitude of the infidels, Jews, and Saracens, by rendering to them the corporal works of mercy. The miraculous result was that not one of the great number that lay stricken with the all-destroying pestilence died of it. Furthermore, it soon disappeared without spreading to any other district of the island.

Thereafter Peter Thomas was honoured as the patron

saint against plague, and the Church, after his death, confirmed him in this title. In the prayer for his feast, the 15th of February, she prays that "God may be pleased, through the prayers and intercession of His servant, Peter Thomas, to grant us remission of our sins, and keep us free from the ravages of pestilence."

He was one of the most efficient organisers of the fourteenth century Crusade, and was responsible for winning Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, and his subjects to the enterprise of which he was appointed Papal Legate, being soon after created Patriarch of Constantinople. The crusade sailed for Alexandria, which the king ordered to be attacked immediately, the 5th of October, 1365. The Saint was ever in the forefront of the battle, holding aloft a crucifix which contained a piece of the True Cross, and encouraging his soldiers to renewed endeavours. Arrows fell around him like rain, for he was frequently made the chief target of the infidels' attack. After a desperate defence the city fell to the Christian armies. But this initial and signal victory had no practical result. The wealth of the great city excited the army to cupidity, and when they had enriched themselves with the spoils most of the leaders returned home at once. It was in vain that the Legate appealed to these soldiers whose mantles were graced with the crusader's cross to remember their high mission, in the interests of which he had laboured for long years. Disorganization and revolt resulted in the city being abandoned almost as soon as it was taken. The heart of Peter Thomas was broken at his great failure when success was already within his grasp, yet he was soon resigned to the Will of God. "Not my will, O Father!" he cried, "but Thine be done." In this spirit he accompanied the disappointed king back to Cyprus.

A broken man he made his way to Famagosta, where

he intended to embark for France. Although scarcely sixty years of age he was already an old man. Knowing that his earthly pilgrimage was drawing to a close the holy man made every provision for his approaching end. Hearing the magnates of the kingdom who were standing by his bed of sickness speaking of erecting a great mausoleum to his memory and of organising a splendid funeral cortege, he begged that nothing of the kind might be done, but that he should be buried without any pomp or show at the entrance to the choir, without a stone to mark his resting-place, so that all might trample upon his remains. The Senators and magnates of the city, as well as the captains of the ships he had commanded so well, came to see the dying leader and to humbly kiss his hands. The multitude lamented the loss of this best of fathers, the poor wept for the passing away of this protector of the poor, the orphans, and the widows, this consoler of the sick; all bemoaned the death of this Saint with whom was passing the last hope of ever winning back the Holy Land. To all this the sick man replied that he longed most earnestly to die, nevertheless, should his life be necessary to the Christian people, he was willing still to live and suffer should that be the Will of God.

Having been miraculously admonished of the day and hour of his death he insisted on being laid on the bare ground, dressed in the simple habit of his Order and with a rope tied round his neck, where he prayed with all the earnest humility of the saints that God would be merciful to him a sinner. At ten o'clock at night on the Feast of the Epiphany, the 6th of January, 1366, having received the Last Sacraments, recited the Apostles' Creed, and made a profession of Faith, full of labours in the service of God and His Church, he breathed forth his pure spirit, having fought a last and terrible conflict with the powers of darkness. The body

that had been wasted almost to a skeleton at once became full and firm with every appearance of a beautiful youth; the skin that had seemed in life like to an ancient parchment took on the fresh white and pink of ingenuous childhood.

Clothed in the habit of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, according to his expressed desire, the mitre laid at his feet being the only indication of his exalted dignity, the great Patriarch of Constantinople was laid for his last vigil in the neighbouring Carmelite Church. A delicious perfume exhaled from the body, whilst a bright light descended and enveloped it, so that, not only the orthodox, but schismatics, Jews, and certain Cyprian nobles, whom he had punished or corrected, and who till now had sought the opportunity of shedding his blood, passed reverently before his bier and thought themselves immensely honoured could they but cut off a few threads of his garments, or even touch them in passing. The obsequies were, in spite of his dying request, conducted with the greatest splendour. Immediately he was called Saint and extraordinary miracles began to be wrought through his intercession. For six entire days the body lay exposed for the veneration of the faithful, during which time it always remained perfectly flexible and exhaled the same sweet odour. Many who approached the body weighed down with infirmities or wasted with disease passed it by cured. The day on which the body was laid in the tomb Father Stephen, Carmelite Provincial of the Holy Land, touched his hand to the earth and was instantly cured of a malady from which he had long suffered.

In consequence of these happenings a commission sat, within three months after the death, to examine into them. The tomb was opened and the body found to be exactly as it was on the day of the interment, the

limbs still flexible, the flesh soft and incorrupt, though the skin was slightly discoloured.

In 1609 the Holy See authorised the celebration of the Feast of Peter Thomas as Bishop and Confessor. In the present ritualistic books of the Order the Saint is described as a Martyr, in spite of the fact that he died naturally, the reason being given that his death was caused chiefly by the wounds he received whilst fighting for the Holy Places against the infidels at Alexandria. Dealing with this question (loc. cit.) his biographer, the eminent and reliable Father Luke Wadding, writes (note 2, original ed., 1637), that many writers call him " Martyr," a title given him in the Carmelite Breviary then lately published. To all of these he opposes the testimony of a biography written by the companion of his labours and travels, Philip Mazzerius, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Cyprus, in which there is no mention of his being wounded or suffering martyrdom.

On the 28th of August, 1628, the Congregation of Rites approved of the Office and Mass of the Saint, fixing his feast for the 29th of January. But since the canonization of St. Francis de Sales, whose feast is celebrated on that day by the universal Church, the feast of St. Peter Thomas has been transferred in the Carmelite Order to the 15th of February.

The Carmelite Order was now so greatly reduced in numbers through the ravages of the Black Death, so many had lost their lives through their self-sacrificing devotion to the sick, that it seemed as if nothing could save it from extinction. A great number of vocations would be necessary to fill the depleted ranks. But they were not forthcoming. A general looseness of morals followed on the heels of the untold sufferings, anxiety, and despair of the survivors. The very foundations of civilised society were shaken, the ties of kindred dissolved; the people grown callous had come to regard

the desolation only as it afforded opportunities for plunder, indulgence, and every crime. Every form of self-sacrifice was become abhorrent, for people would drown their grief and forget their terror in an exaggerated enjoyment. Besides the people had grown physically weak through suffering and privation. On the other hand the Rule of the Carmelites was extremely severe and not the least likely to attract youths to its discipline in the circumstances. One of two things must be done. The Order must either cease to exist or the Rule be modified to suit the times. It was a painful choice with which those were faced who felt that every mitigation was taking them ever farther from the ideals of their founders, of the hermits of Mount Carmel, of those who first came from the Holy Land.

Under these circumstances Eugenius IV, by a special Brief bearing the date 1431, freed the Carmelites from certain observances of their Primitive Rule. He allowed the use of flesh meat on certain days, instead of the strict abstinence that had obtained up to that time. It will be remembered that the Rule enjoined strict seclusion of the religious in separate cells, except when certain common exercises called them together. This was altered to suit the new vocation of the Order. Previously a strict fast had been observed from the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the 14th of September, to the Easter of the following year. The fast was now limited to Advent, Lent, and the other days observed in the universal Church.

It must ever be remembered that these mitigations were not sought from any spirit of laxity, but were forced on the Order by the variety of adverse circumstances which we have outlined.

As a matter of fact a determined effort had already been made as early as the year 1413 to get back to the

Primitive Rule, which was even now being observed in the Mantuan Reform, and, almost immediately after the concession of Eugenius, a like reform was initiated by the General, Blessed John Soreth, who succeeded in re-establishing the original Rule in all its severity in many monasteries and convents.

CHAPTER VI

CARMELITE NUNS

"Nuns fret not at their convent's narrow room,
And hermits are contented with their cells."

In the year 1212 St. Clare founded the Second Order of Franciscans, and St. Dominic had instituted convents of nuns even before he set up his Order of Friars Preachers. It was scarcely likely that the Carmelites would have been insensible to their example. From numerous indications which, however, are too vague to permit of our asserting anything very definitely, it would seem that, from the end of the thirteenth century, they also had communities of nuns under their jurisdiction and Rule.

Whatever mitigations may have been forced on the Order by the circumstances of time and place over which they had no control the Carmelites, throughout the first two centuries of their Western life, always loved and cherished the original hermitical life; and we find from time to time individual members being permitted to lead the solitary life. Indeed, in many instances hermitages were attached to the monasteries, as at the Bradley Priory, Norwich, where the famous anchorite, Thomas Scrope, led his extraordinary ascetical life.

Those who led the solitary life were known as Anchorites, Recluses, or Solitaries. They differed from the hermit in that they dwelt in stricter seclusion, solitary confinement, and were not free to wander at will. The anchorite was not merely withdrawn from the

world; he was "inclusus," that is, voluntarily immured in a single narrow cell. These cells were sometimes underground within the precincts of the monastery, or they were small walled-in enclosures erected against the outer wall of the church. When the ceremony of enclosure was performed the religious entered and the doorway was then walled-up. There was no longer any means of exit. Only a sufficient aperture was left for the conveyance of food, or to follow the Divine Mysteries celebrated at the altar. These apertures were so contrived that the interior could not be seen from without. Thus was the most absolute solitude obtained. The ceremony was usually performed by the bishop or his deputy, but the mendicant superior acted in case of his subjects. Only those of exceptional virtue were accorded the privilege. Once enclosed they never left their four walls unless called thence by necessity, religious obedience, or the approach of death.

This exceptional mode of life was not confined to men. In the beginning of the fifteenth century there were many women recluses attached to the Carmelite Order. Thus we read of one Alice Wakleyne of Northampton, a woman of illustrious family, who died on the 13th of June, 1426, and was succeeded by Margaret Hawton, who died on the 17th of November (the year is not recorded). Dame Emma, daughter of Sir Miles Stapilton, was enclosed in the chamber under Holy Cross chapel, which was set apart for women. She was buried in the friary church in the year 1442. Others were Joanna Catfelde of Lynn, Agnes Grausette of Cambridge, and Agnes of Ipswich. There was an official code of rules drawn up for the women recluses in general in the thirteenth century, which was variously named "Ancren Riwle," "Ancren Wisse," "Regula Inclusarum," "The Nuns' Rule." Several copies of it are extant in the English libraries. At the British

Museum there are five, and one at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge(MS. 402). The Rule gives very exact and detailed regulations, displaying an amount of experience and prudence, as to the devotions, penitential exercises, and hours, of the recluses, and includes very exact sanitary and hygienic directions. Each female recluse had a woman to look after her needs. But the Carmelites had a Rule of their own, which resembled in many respects that of the Friars. They rose at midnight from the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross to Easter, and at dawn in summer. They observed the perpetual abstinence from meat, wore hair-shirts, and performed many other penances.

This body of women recluses was the first effort at the formation of a female branch of the Order, and they are sometimes spoken of as Carmelite nuns. But the first definite step to organise in this direction was made by Blessed John Soreth, Prior General.

In the beginning of the twelfth century there were pious women in Germany and the Netherlands who lived their lives apart, devoting themselves to prayer and penitential works, without, however, taking the monastic vows or binding themselves to observe the rules of any Order. They retained possession of their own property, and were free to return to the normal mode of life whenever they chose to do so. Many of them were in all probability the wives and daughters of slain crusaders, who sought to drown their grief in the consolations of religion, or to offer up the remainder of their days in atonement for the sins of their loved ones who had lain down their lives in the heat of battle. They were in no sense nuns, nor were they recluses, for they made their abode on the fringes of the towns, and spent a considerable portion of their time in caring for the poor, teaching children, and in the manual labour by means of which the majority earned their

living. They were known as Beguines, and the men who led the same life, as Beghards. The ethymology of the names is obscure. Only in the broadest sense of the word might they be described as a community. However, about the beginning of the thirteenth century some of them grouped their cabins together, and thus was formed the first Beguinage. Enormous numbers took to this life, so that some of the Beguinages contained thousands. The Beguinage usually consisted of a number of small detached huts, within a walled enclosure, each hut being inhabited by one or two Beguines.

There were three Beguinages at Guildre, which united under the name of Ten-Elsen, in the year 1400. They then chose a superior, without, however, obliging themselves to the observance of any particular Rule. In 1452 they, together with the Beguines of Dinant, approached Blessed John Soreth, Prior General of the Carmelites, and entreated that they might be affiliated to the Order. In due course he acceded to their request, collected them into communities, and obtained from Pope Nicholas V the Bull *Cum Nulla,* dated the 7th of October of the same year, which gave to himself and the Provincials the same privileges which the Dominicans and Augustinians had already received, of admitting women religious to the Rule of the Order. He, besides, founded five other convents of nuns to which he devoted the greatest care.

Thus were formed the first real communities of Carmelite nuns. Being an age of much grief and of religious enthusiasm the times were propitious for such a movement. New convents sprang up everywhere and, before the end of the century, there were many in France, Italy, and Spain. In Spain, especially, the new institution became very popular. The spirit of the Carmelite Order seemed, as it has ever since proved,

to suit the ardent Spanish temperament. Several convents had enormous communities, so that when St. Teresa joined the Order at the convent of the Incarnation in Avila the community there numbered no less than one hundred and eighty nuns.

The institute was given a new impulse when Blessed Frances d'Amboise, Duchess of Brittany, took the veil as a Carmelite sister. This holy woman was born in 1427, and was the daughter of Louis d'Amboise, Viscount of Thouars, and Marie de Rieum, of an ancient family of Brittany. When only four years of age she was betrothed, after the fashion of the times, to Peter, second son of John V, Duke of Brittany, and was married to him at the age of fifteen. From her earliest infancy she had given proof of all the virtues, but she was now called upon to exercise the virtue of patience in a pre-eminent degree. Blinded by jealousy her husband treated her most cruelly, but she bore every injury without a murmur for the love of Jesus Crucified. Such exemplary virtue could fail to move only the most abandoned, and in the end it won her husband to grace. His conversion was very complete, and, henceforth, he assisted his saintly wife in her works of charity. They made a mutual promise that whichever should die first the other should observe perpetual continence or enter the religious life. His elder brother, Francis, having died, Peter succeeded to the ducal crown. Frances regarded this new honour as but extending the field of her charitable labours. She avoided all worldly enjoyments and splendour of dress, and gave half of each day to prayer and works of charity, and above all to visiting the poor daily. To keep her body in subjection she practised many austere exercises. Thus she wore a hair-shirt, fasted, and used the discipline.

The Duke died in 1457, but for several years Frances

found it impossible to fulfil her promise to enter a convent. She consistently refused brilliant marriages suggested to her by Louis XI. Making the acquaintance of Blessed John Soreth her thoughts turned to the Carmelite Order as her choice of a vocation. On the 31st of October, 1463, some Carmelite nuns arrived from Liège for the purpose of establishing a new foundation. Frances met them at Vannes, and put them up at the castle till their convent should be ready. She also provided the dowries of the postulants. In the end she herself took the habit on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1468, being then forty years of age. Thenceforth she advanced rapidly in the way of perfection, becoming the true model of a Carmelite nun. By command of Sixtus IV, she came to the convent of Our Lord in Nantes, where the remainder of her life was spent, and where, in 1485, she died in an ecstasy of Divine Love, beseeching the sisters ever to love God above all things. Soon after her death miracles were wrought at her tomb, which was opened seven years later for examination. She was declared Blessed, and Pius IX approved of the Mass and Office of her feast, which is celebrated among the Carmelites on the 5th of November.

Almost a contemporary of Blessed Frances was Blessed Jane Scopelli, who died in the odour of sanctity on the 9th of July, 1491, in Italy. A year after her death her body was found to be quite incorrupt, and exhaling a most sweet perfume.

Many other Carmelite nuns succeeded in attaining the highest degree of sanctity under the mitigated Rule. But perhaps the best known, besides St. Teresa, is Mary Magdalene de Pazzi, one of the greatest mystics in the calendar.

She was born on the 2nd of April, 1566, at Florence, and came of two noble families, her father being Camillo Geri de Pazzi and her mother a Buondelmonti,

In baptism she was given the name Caterina. The child is said to have learned to pray even before she could speak, and, even as an infant, her charity and love for the poor was extraordinary. Her zeal for souls was early expressed in her undertaking to instruct ignorant girls in the rudiments of the Catholic Faith. When only ten years of age she took a vow of perpetual virginity, and, in 1582, entered the Carmelite Convent of Santa Maria degl' Angeli, in Florence, where she soon showed herself mistress of all the virtues. For her name in religion she chose that of Mary Magdalene. After her profession she fell into a daily ecstasy for forty days and nearly died in consequence of the strain. Her entire religious life continued to be one series of ecstasies and raptures, during which she gave utterance to those wonderful maxims of Divine Love and counsels of perfection, which were noted down by her companions at the time, and are more widely known to-day than those even of St. Teresa herself. Yet this constant state of rapture in no way interfered with her usefulness, for she always performed her duties and was most commonsense and efficient.

God having commanded this chosen daughter to do so, the Saint subsisted for five years on bread and water alone, with the exception of Sundays when she took only Lenten fare. She made use of all the usual penances known to the saints, but in addition she wore a crown of thorns pressed down on her head, and hidden beneath her head-dress.

God was pleased to give her countless opportunities for merit, and through her heroic virtue she was privileged to confound the powers of darkness. For five long years she was abandoned to the most awful spiritual dryness and utter desolation of soul, the greatest torment that the saints have ever known. Not merely was the devil permitted to tempt her in every

possible way, but she had constantly to endure excruciating torments. That there might be nothing to break the force of the diabolical attacks, or to assuage the resultant anguish, she voluntarily yielded up all the spiritual consolations with which a merciful Father was accustomed to reward her victories. Yet, by the grace of God, she continued to be always victorious. So great was her love of God that she sought to suffer ever more and more, and prayed for a long life that her sufferings might be drawn out to the fullest extent. As St. Teresa's life was guided by the motto " To suffer or to die," so Mary Magdalene de Pazzi directed hers in accordance with her own motto, " To suffer, not to die."

Of this great Saint Joris Karl Huysmans has written : " She talks directly with God the Father and stammers out in ecstasy explanations of the mysteries revealed to her by the Ancient of Days. Her books contain one sovereign page on the Circumcision, another magnificent one, entirely made up of antithesis, on the Holy Spirit, others, very strange, on the deification of the human soul, on its union with heaven, and on the part assigned in this operation to the wounds of the Word." And again : " Was it not also this Carmelite nun who, ravished by the power of grace, despised so greatly the certitude acquired by the way of the senses, as to say to the Lord : ' If I saw thee with mine eyes, I should have Faith no more.' "

No mere synopsis can give the faintest idea of the sanctity of her life, of the extent of her sufferings, or of her endless patience. Her saintly death was in accordance with her life, for it came only after three years of most painful illness, borne heroically and with joy to the end. In life she had wrought many miracles and they were multiplied after her death, which occurred on the 25th of May, 1607, in the forty-first year of her age. The tomb where her body was laid

was opened a year later. It was in a very damp place, a fact that would in the ordinary course have hastened corruption. Yet, when the body was uncovered it was found incorrupt, and it remains so to this day after the lapse of more than three hundred and seventy years. The process of her beatification was begun in 1610 under Paul V, and was completed under Urban VIII in the year 1626. Sixty-two years after her death she was raised to the altars of the Church, on the 28th of April, 1669, by Pope Clement IX, her feast day being fixed for the 27th of May.

What better proof could there be of the fact that to whatever religious order or congregation one may be called, whether the Rule be exceedingly strict or comparatively easy, whether it be contemplative or active, or a combination of both, the greatest sanctity may be attained, provided that the aspirant be imbued with the spirit of the vocation to which God has called him, and strives to the best of his ability to observe in its perfection the Rule under which he lives.

In the early days of mendicantism there was a great difference between the orders of men and women called by the same name. Whereas the friars led the mixed life the nuns were universally strictly enclosed throughout the West.[1] The only external work that was permitted was the education of young girls, since this could be carried on without any violation of the enclosure. This law was in force for several centuries. Yet when St. Teresa speaks of her removal during the grievous illness of the early days of her profession she adds: "For in the monastery where we lived they made no vow of enclosure," and when her father was on his death-bed she went to attend on him. From the autobiography of this Saint we learn other particulars of the

[1] *Cf.* the Constitution "Periculoso" (1294-1309) of Boniface VIII, and the Council of Trent (Sess. XXV. De Reg. et Mon., c. v.).

life of the Carmelite nuns in her day. Visits of seculars would seem to have been rather frequent. Yet the Rule must have been exceedingly severe in spite of these relaxations, for she attributes her illness at this time to the quality of the diet. The contemplative life must have been practised to a high degree. The greater part of her own life was given up to spiritual reading and prayer in solitude, and the heights to which she attained in the practise of Mental Prayer were extraordinary even in a saint. There could not have been much laxity or lukewarmness amongst religious, one of whom, at least, was constantly favoured with sublime visions, raptures, ecstasies, revelations, and other mystic visitations. Her first impulse towards a reform was inspired by the desire for an utter solitude that would admit of no interruption of her intimate converse with God. To this end she sought a stricter enclosure. " I was thinking," she writes, " what I was able to do for God; when it came into my mind that I ought principally to follow the call I had from His Divine Majesty unto this Order by observing my rule in the greatest perfection that I could. For in the monastery where I was (the Incarnation of Avila), although there were many servants of God, and His Divine Majesty was well served therein; yet by reason of the extreme poverty they suffered there, the nuns went often abroad to several places, and the house was not founded in the observation of our rule in its first rigour, but only as was then the general custom of the whole Order, according to the Bull of Mitigation. I saw there likewise other inconveniences (though it were a large, fair, and pleasant dwelling), but my being necessitated so often to go and stay abroad was a main disturbance to me, which happened to me more than any of the rest : because several persons, taking content to have me in their company, were importunate with my superiors to procure their licence for it, who not

being able to deny them, commanded me to gratify them herein; so that I could be but little in the monastery."

We need only add here that the history of the Calced Carmelite nuns has run a parallel course with that of the friars. Whilst leading a strict form of contemplative life, to which they are devoted in the main, they also lend their valuable help in the active ministry.

There are no communities of Calced Carmelite nuns at present in the British Isles.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMS OF BLESSED BAPTIST MANTUA, BLESSED JOHN SORETH, AND ST. TERESA

" Gloria Carmeli veteres Baptista poetas
Gymnasiis pellens pulpita celsa tenet."

Murmellius, anno 1507.

BLESSED BAPTIST MANTUA

Anthony Modover of Cordova, a Spanish nobleman, left his native land accompanied by his son Peter at a time when the dogs of war were overrunning it. He made his way to Italy and settled at Mantua. Here in due time Peter Spagnolus (the Spaniard) took to wife Constantia Brixia of the noble family of the Maggi. Baptist was born to them, according to documents preserved in the Carmelite monastery of Mantua, on the 17th of April, 1448.[1] Having completed the study of the humanities in his native town under the tuition of the eminent Gregorio Tifernate and of Georgius Merula, the youth proceeded to the famous University of Padua to study Philosophy. Even at this early period he tried his hand at Latin verse, and worked at it with an untiring energy, realising the truth which was afterwards expressed in a clever epigram by Matthew Arnold: " Genius is mainly an affair of energy, and poetry is mainly an affair of genius." Baptist later studied at the Universities of Ferrara and Bologna. From his letters to his father we learn that he entered

[1] The *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* gives the year as 1444.

the Mantuan Congregation of the Carmelite Order at Ferrara in the year 1464.

The Reform had been initiated in 1413, in the Generalship of John Grossi, when Father James Albert, Professor of Theology, sought permission to restore the strict observance in some secluded monastery of the Tuscan Province, that afterwards known as "Silvarum," and was made prior for the term of six years for that purpose. Then, the Provincial Chapter being assembled, Blessed Angelus Augustinus de Mazzinghi, a noble Florentine, a friar of great sanctity, was chosen superior of the convent. He took with him certain of the religious who were remarkable for their piety. Angelus continued to rule till 1430, when he returned to the neighbouring convent in Florence, and there died in the odour of sanctity in 1438. The example of the strict observance in this institute excited others to emulate it, so that some friars of the Province of Lombardy initiated a similar return to the Primitive Rule in the convents of Mantua and Gerona. After consultation the communities of these three houses finally decided to withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of the Provincial in order to place themselves under direct obedience to the General, a step that was advisable in the circumstances. Naturally the reformers met with a considerable amount of opposition. But, when Eugenius IV came to Florence to preside over the Council, he decreed that this alteration should be put into immediate effect. The progress of the new Congregation was extraordinary, so that it, eventually, numbered fifty-one convents of friars, eight convents of nuns subject to the superior of the Congregation, and seven others subject to the Ordinaries.

When Baptist joined the Order, or perhaps a little later in the Novitiate in Mantua, he found himself under the spiritual guidance of the saintly Master of

BLESSED BARTHOLOMEW FANTI INSTRUCTING HIS NOVICES
Blessed Baptist Mantua in the foreground

Novices, Blessed Bartholomew Fanti. Baptist was good clay for this master's moulding, since, from the very inception of his religious life, he gave signs of the spirit of which the saints are made. As a Latin poet he was unrivalled in his day; as a Carmelite he was in the vanguard of the austere reform that adopted his name.

It was natural that so brilliant and so holy a friar should be elected to the highest offices in his Congregation and Order. About the year 1480 he was made prior of Mantua. Anxious for the efficient conducting of the Congregation he was very desirous of having a convent at Rome, and he received great help and encouragement in his project from such high personages as the Papal Treasurer, Falcone de Sinibaldi, and the Cardinal of Naples, Oliviero Carafa. Yet it was not till 1486 that his persistent efforts were rewarded by the acquisition of the church and monastery of St. Chrysogonus, of which he became the first superior. Six times, each for two years with four years interval, as the Constitutions of the Mantuan Congregation required, he was elected Vicar General, so that its interests were always committed to his care as soon as was legally possible.

Baptist worked indefatigably for the reformation of his Order and that of the universal Church, which was still suffering from the disorganisation caused by the dreaded Black Death, the doubtful election of Popes, and the simultaneous existence of two or even three claimants to the Holy See. Thus, on the feast of All Saints, 1488, he delivered a vehement oration on the reformation of the Church in St. Peter's, in the presence of Pope Innocent VIII and the cardinals, the manuscript of which is still preserved in the library of Ferrara. To this end he also wrote one of his longest and finest works in three books, *De Calamitatibus*

Rerum. This remarkable work, of exactly three thousand lines in the heroic manner, was completed in 1479. In a most vigorous and exceedingly convincing style the poet inveighs against the vices of the day which were corrupting the life of the Church. Political parties were contending about the primacy of the Holy See, and many who had no vocation whatever for the priesthood were seeking ordination as a step on the ladder of preferment.

On the 19th of March, 1513, the young Cardinal-Deacon, Giovanni dei Medici, a close friend and keen admirer of the Carmelite poet, ascended the papal throne under the title of Leo X. He was a true representative of his age—an ardent admirer of classic and humane culture, a lover of elegant literature and of all the arts and sciences. The intellectual aristocracy of the world was congregated in the Vatican, including such immortals as Michael Angelo, Raphael, and John Lascaris. In a company so distinguished Baptist stood out foremost and unrivalled as a Latin poet, and for this reason amongst others he captivated the mind of the magnificent pontiff who loved him as a brother and cherished him as a counsellor.

On the 22nd of May following he was, in his absence, almost unanimously chosen to fill the supreme office of Prior General of the entire Order, a position that he seems to have continued to hold till his death.

Having been warned by divine revelation of his approaching end, and having borne his last illness with exemplary patience, Baptist died at Mantua, the 22nd of March, 1516, and was declared Blessed by Pope Leo XIII on the 17th of December, 1885, on which occasion the Bishop of Mantua, afterwards Pope Pius X, preached the funeral oration. The remains were at first laid in the Carmelite Church of Mantua, where the following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb :

R. P. Magister Jo. Bapt. Mantuanus Carmelita Theologus Philosofus Poeta Orator clarissimus latinae graecae & hebraicae linguae peritissimus.

The body, which is still incorrupt, is now preserved in the Cathedral of Mantua, together with that of his novice master, Blessed Bartholomew Fanti, who was beatified by Pius X on the 18th of March, 1909.

This is not the place to consider his position as a Latin poet. Suffice it to say that so pre-eminent a humanist as Desiderius Erasmus considered him as a possible rival to immortal Virgil. That his works were very popular in England is evident from the fact that Shakespere quotes from him and praises him in *Love's Labour Lost:*

Hol. Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat,—and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice:

Venetia, Venetia,
Che non ti vede non ti pretia.

Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not.

After the French Revolution the Congregation of Mantua was amalgamated once more with the main body of the Order in Italy.

BLESSED JOHN SORETH

Blessed John Soreth was born in Normandy. From his earliest years he was much given to works of piety. He had scarcely left the years of boyhood behind him when, having previously vowed his life to the service of the Mother of God, he took the habit in her Order of Mount Carmel, and made wonderful progress on the

road of perfection. As soon as he had made his solemn profession he was sent by the superiors to the University of Paris, where he practised even greater austerities than formerly. On his ordination to the priesthood he devoted himself entirely to the salvation of souls, and by his learning and eloquence, but above all by the example of his saintly life, he brought about many extraordinary conversions. It was entirely against his will that he was advanced to the supreme dignity in his Order. But when obedience compelled him to accept the position of Father General he at once set about raising the standard of sanctity therein. Almost immediately after Pope Eugenius IV had granted his concession Blessed John effected a reform like to that of the congregation of Mantua, but with this essential difference, his reform was founded on the Constitutions, and was inimical to any separation from the parent branch of the Order. Whilst respecting the wishes of those who desired to continue to live under the Rule as they found it when they made their profession, he founded certain houses which he set apart for those who might be anxious to return to the primitive observance. Any member of the Order who felt inclined to do so could obtain a transference to such a house; but there was no compulsion, nor was there any reflection on those who were unwilling to make the change. On the other hand, he held out many inducements to the religious to do so, for he obtained several important privileges for the convents of the strict observance. Like the Divine Master, he always set the example himself, never requiring of his subjects anything that he did not consistently practise in his own life. A man of great ability he was rightly named one of the most influential priests in the Church. His humility was most remarkable, and he abhorred anything in the way of dignities even when the Holy Father himself was anxious to confer them.

He unhesitatingly refused, first a bishopric, then a cardinalate by which title Callistus III desired to honour him. To repress the rebellions of the flesh this saintly friar practised the severest austerities and disciplines. To foster in its highest degree the Holy Virtue he obtained a Bull, dated the 7th of October, 1452, by which the superiors of the Carmelite Order were conceded the faculties for canonically establishing convents of "virgins, widows, beguines, and mantellatae." Herein we have the origin of the Third Order of the Carmelites, and of the Carmelite nuns. It was in this same year that he founded the first convent of nuns, and made the acquaintance of the saintly Duchess of Brittany, Frances d'Amboise, whom he induced to take the habit of the Order.

Throughout his life John rejoiced in adversity and suffering, and he was surely given scope for the exercise of the virtue of patience when, as General, he travelled over Europe from one Province to another endeavouring to foster the holy spirit of his Order and to spread its salutary influence.

After a life spent unceasingly in the service of God, feeling that his end was drawing nigh, he received the Holy Viaticum. Having exhorted his brethren to practise fraternal charity and to be faithful to the strict and regular observance of their Rule, he breathed forth his soul to God in uttering the beautiful prayer: "O Jesus, be to me a Saviour." It was the 28th of July, 1471.

His cult began immediately after his death, and it was fostered when God deigned to glorify His servant by miracles wrought through his intercession. He was beatified by Pope Pius IX.

There were two other reforms, neither of which had any great significance or continuity.

Lastly there came the momentous reform effected by St. Teresa.

SAINT TERESA

St. Teresa was born at Avila on the 28th of March, 1515, of virtuous parents of high rank. Her father was Alonso Sanchez de Cepeda, whose second wife, Beatriz y Ahumada, was Teresa's mother. From the beginning she showed an unusual ability and gave signs of extraordinary piety, and was, even as a child, addicted to the lives of the Saints, whom, the martyrs especially, she was anxious to imitate. At seven years of age, she persuaded her brother, Rodrigo, to set out for the country of the Moors in pursuit of a martyr's crown. Having got so far as Ajara, they were overtaken by an uncle who brought them back home.

On the 2nd of November, 1535, being then twenty years of age, Teresa entered the Carmelite Convent of the Incarnation at Avila, which housed one hundred and eighty nuns. In the midst of a community so large she sought solitude from the beginning. Shortly afterwards she fell seriously ill and was at the point of death, but she recovered. Henceforth she sought untiringly to walk the rugged ways of the mystical life. In a work such as this it would be utterly impossible to glance even cursorily at the various stages of her advance in the way of mental prayer and perfection. Whilst referring readers to her autobiography and her works: *The Book of Foundations, The Way of Perfection, The Interior Castle,* or to any one of the simpler " Lives," it will suffice here to say that she has, not without reason, been named " the greatest of the mystics." Of her Huysmans writes:

" See then how experienced she is in the domain of the supernatural, how, in spite of her repetitions and tediousness, she explains wisely and clearly the mechanism of the soul unfolding when God touches it. In subjects where words fail and phrases crumble away,

she succeeds in making herself understood, in showing, almost making visible, the inconceivable sight of God buried in the soul and taking his pleasure there.

" And she goes still further into the mystery, even to the end; bounds with a final spring to the very gates of heaven, but then faints in adoration, and, being unable to express herself, she soars, describing circles like a frightened bird, wandering beyond herself in cries of love.

" Yes, Monsieur l'Abbé, I recognise that Saint Teresa has explored deeper than any other the unknown regions of the soul; she is in some measure its geographer, has drawn the map of its poles, marked the latitudes of contemplation, the interior lands of the human sky. Other saints have explored them before her, but they have not left us so methodical nor so exact a topography." [1]

Teresa had been about twenty-six years in the Carmel of Avila when she was stirred to the depths of her soul by a vision of hell. Stricken with fear, she resolved to make even greater efforts than formerly. On the other hand, she was intensely grieved at the thought of the great numbers who damn their souls to these eternal and unspeakable torments. She determined to spare herself in no way, and to win others to greater sacrifices, to secure the salvation of those who were in danger. But how was this to be achieved?

The problem was solved for her in this way:

Maria de Oscampo, her niece, was visiting her one day when the conversation turned on the barefooted nuns of St. Francis. She expressed her willingness to found a similar institution for the Carmelites should any of them be desirous of leading a stricter life. Teresa seized on the idea as a step towards the realisa-

[1] *En Route.*

tion of her plan, and made up her mind to open a convent in which the Primitive Rule might be carried out in all its rigour. The result was the foundation, in the year 1562, about two years later, of St. Joseph's in Avila, the first convent of the barefooted Carmelite nuns. At this time the Council of Trent was being continued under Paul III, Julius III, and Pius IV, and was doing much to effect the practical reform, especially in regard to the lives of the clergy and the regular observance in the religious orders, that was one of its chief aims. It was certainly a most opportune time in which to carry out a reform such as that at which St. Teresa aimed, as it was almost certain to have the support of the Council. At the deliberations of the Council under Paul III nineteen Carmelites were present, and twelve under Pius IV, some of whom, at least, were sure to be in sympathy with the new project.

In the twenty-fifth session there were proposed twenty-two Chapters of Reformation in regard of Regulars, eight of which regard nuns. The votes on these subjects began on the 23rd of November, 1563, and only occupied four days. The first chapter, which is really a preamble, is as follows:

"Forasmuch as the holy Synod is not ignorant how much splendour and utility accrue to the Church of God from monasteries piously instituted and rightly administered, It has—to the end that the ancient and regular discipline may be the more easily and promptly restored, where it has fallen away, and may be the more firmly maintained, where it has been preserved,—thought it necessary to enjoin, that all Regulars, as well men as women, shall order and regulate their lives in accordance with the requirements of the rule which they have professed; and, above all, that they shall faithfully observe whatsoever belongs to the perfection of their profession, such as the vows of obedience,

poverty and chastity, as also all other vows and precepts that may be peculiar to any rule or order respectively appertaining to the essential character of each, and which regard the observance of a common mode of living, food, and dress. And all care and diligence shall be used by the superiors, both in the general and provincial Chapters, and in their visitations, which they shall not omit to make in their proper seasons, that these things be not departed from; it being certain that those things which belong to the substance of a regular life cannot be by them relaxed. For if these things which are the basis and the foundation of all regular discipline be not regularly preserved, the whole edifice must needs fall."

In the fifth chapter provision was made for the enclosure and safety of nuns. The proper authorities were commanded to make it their especial care that the enclosure of nuns should be carefully restored wheresoever it had been violated, and preserved where it had not been violated. It adds: "But for no nun, after her profession, shall it be lawful to go out of her convent, even for a brief period, under any pretext whatever, except for some lawful cause, which is to be approved of by the bishop; any indults and privileges whatsoever notwithstanding. And it shall not be lawful for anyone, of whatever birth or condition, sex or age, to enter within the enclosure of a nunnery, without the permission of the bishop or the Superior, obtained in writing, under the pain of excommunication to be *ipso facto* incurred. But the bishop or the Superior ought to grant this permission in necessary cases only."

The Rule drawn up by St. Teresa was in complete conformity with the rulings of the Council. It made more than ample provision for their execution, and was in sympathy with the aim at reformation. In these circumstances the way was paved for the reformer, a

fact that in all probability had much to do with the unprecedented success of her venture in the subsequent years.

Having got so far in her reform she desired to go a step further. She was now anxious to found a branch of Carmelite Friars of the new observance. She had desired to remain " in the family " of the Carmelites and subject to the Father General, but her community had been withdrawn without her consent, and placed under the jurisdiction of the Ordinary. She did not now know who should be appointed Spiritual Directors to the convent, and she earnestly desired to have priests of the Order, but living under the same rule as her nuns.

The General who had come to Spain in 1566 did not want to lose this highly spiritual daughter of the Order. So to her great joy he re-admitted her. Some time later she wrote to him for authority to found monasteries of barefooted friars, which, in the end, he conceded, giving her permission to open two monasteries for contemplative Carmelites, but within the province of Castille only.

Her next difficulty was to get the friars. She was determined not to be easily satisfied in her selection. She consulted Antonio de Heredia, prior of the convent in Medina, whom she had known in Avila. He was of one of the noblest houses of Biscay, and his mother was of the family of St. Vincent Ferrer. He offered himself to be the first friar of the Reform. Being an excellent religious, but of a delicate constitution, the Saint hesitated. Shortly afterwards Fra Pedro Orozco recommended to her a brother Carmelite, a young man who had just been ordained and who desired a more recollected life. With difficulty Teresa got him to come and see her. It was St. John of the Cross, the great mystic and Doctor of Carmel, who was to be the foundation

on which the new spiritual edifice was to be built. The joy of the foundress knew no bounds, for she saw at once she had found "a pearl of great worth," if only she could persuade him to transfer to the Reform, which he eventually did.

Worn out with her enormous labours, and having endured a painful illness with the most exemplary patience, Saint Teresa died on the 4th of October, 1582, at nine o'clock in the evening. Of her life of nearly sixty-eight years, twenty-nine had been spent in the Convent of the Incarnation of Avila under the Mitigated Rule, and twenty in the reformed branch, which began to be known as the Teresians.

In her last moments she saw our Divine Lord, surrounded by angels, waiting to receive her soul. Before and after her death God glorified His servant by the working of many miracles.

We have only touched on the life of this great mystic and doctor in so far as it affected the carrying out of the reformation, which resulted in the creation of an offshoot from the main body of the Carmelite Order. It would be impossible here to enter into a consideration of her life of prayer and mysticism. As a matter of fact, this eminently practical nun was literally consumed by the love of God, as will appear from the following quotation from her autobiography in which she relates one of her visions:

"Our Lord was pleased that I should have at times a vision of this kind: I saw an angel close by me, on my left side, in bodily form. . . . . He was not large, but small of stature, and most beautiful—his face burning, as if he were one of the highest angels, who seem to be all on fire: they must be those whom we call cherubim. . . . . I saw in his hand a long spear of gold, and at the iron's point there seemed to be a little fire. He appeared to me to be thrusting it at times into my

heart, and to pierce my very entrails; when he drew it out he seemed to draw them out also, and to leave me all on fire with a great love of God. The pain was so great that it made me moan; and yet so surpassing was the sweetness of this excessive pain, that I could not wish to be rid of it."

After the Saint's death it was found that her heart was actually pierced.

Her body is preserved incorrupt to this day in the convent church of Alba, and, on the feast of the Transpiercing, her heart is exposed for the veneration of the faithful.

She was canonised by Gregory XV.

"It is clear," writes Huysmans, "she was an admirable psychologist, but also how strange is in her nature the mixture of an ardent mystic and a cool woman of business. For, in fact, she has a double nature; she is a contemplative outside the world, and at the same time a statesman, a female Colbert of the cloister. In fact, never was a woman so consummate a skilled artisan and so powerful an organiser. When we consider that, in spite of incredible difficulties, she founded thirty-two nunneries, that she put them all under obedience to a rule which is a model of wisdom, a rule which foresees and rectifies the most ignored mistakes of the heart, it is astounding to hear her treated by strong-minded people as an hysterical mad-woman."

Part II

THE ENGLISH CARMELITES

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST ENGLISH FOUNDATIONS
(Some General Notes)

" The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

We have seen how in the year 1212, that is just after the new rule had been drawn up by the Patriarch Albert, the first hermits from Mount Carmel arrived in England. They retained their eastern customs, and continued to lead the hermitical life amidst their new surroundings, till the arrival of Ralph Fresburn in the train of the barons De Vesey and Grey in the year 1240. It had been stipulated that these chieftains should erect a monastery of the Order to house the new arrivals.

William de Vesey was of the noble and famous family of the Percys. Alnwick Castle, the family seat, is situated about thirty-four miles north of Newcastle, in the county of Northumberland. The Castle was for many centuries a fortress of great strength, standing on an eminence close to the town of Alnwick and commanding a splendid view of the country for many miles. It is celebrated in border history, and witnessed the deaths of the Scotch kings Malcolm III and his son Edward, and the capture of William the Lion.

The Percys came to England in the train of William the Conqueror, from whom William de Percy obtained

thirty knight's fees in the north of England. At the time of which we write William de Vesey was Lord of Alnwick. In the year 1337 Henry, Lord Percy, was created Earl of Northumberland. The present head of the family holds the title of Duke of Northumberland, and resides in Alnwick Castle, to which extensive restorations and alterations have been made, and additions built. The name of the Percys looms large in both secular and religious history. The sixth and seventh Earls fell by the hands of the executioner in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth successively. Blessed Thomas Percy, martyr, the seventh Earl, died at York on the 22nd of August, 1572, on the occasion of the Northern Rising to liberate Mary, Queen of Scots, and to secure liberty of worship. He died because he refused to renounce his Faith, and was beatified by Leo XIII on the 13th of May, 1895. When Thomas was eight years old his father was executed at Tyburn for having taken a leading part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and he also is considered a martyr by many, although his name is not found in the martyrology. Anne Somerset, the wife of Thomas, also suffered much for the Faith. In the first " cause " of the English Martyrs and Confessors many of the names submitted were passed over. These are officially called " Praetermissi." Nevertheless their cause is not dropped. Among these names, and included under the caption " Martyrs in Chains," occurs that of Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, who died a violent death in the Tower, where he was confined on a charge of taking part in a plot in favour of Mary of Scotland.

We deliberately mention these names before proceeding with the account of the first Carmelite foundation in England, because they should be held in particular respect by the Order. For, not only did they found HULNE ABBEY and other Carmelite convents,

but it was mainly through the generosity of this family that the first friars subsisted, as will be evident from the *Prima Carta Joannis de Vesey de Area*[1] of which we give a synopsis. It is drawn up for the Carmelite Friars dwelling at "Holne in the forest of Alnewyk," and comprises (1) Letters patent, dated the 12th of December, 4 Edward II, being an Inspeximus and confirmation of grants to them in frank-almoin by John de Vesey of 20 marks yearly out of his mills of Alnewyk, and of their whole area, with the oratory and houses built or to be built thereon, in which William de Vesey, his father, first permitted them to dwell, together with certain liberties in the forest. And of the confirmation of these grants by William de Vesey, brother and heir of the said John, and Henry de Percy, then lord of Alnewyk.

(2) Grant to them in frank-almoin by William de Vesey, dated at Tughale, the 16th of June, 1295, and witnessed . . . . of their whole manse and the appurtenances thereof, with an alms of 20 marks out of the mills of Alnewyk, pasture, a fishery, right to make rushes, housebote, haybote, firebote, ingress and egress through the park, and all other liberties, alms, and easements, which they had of the gift of his father and brother; and

(3) Grants to them in frank-almoin by Alexander de Brokesfeld of one quarter of wheat, one quarter of barley, and two quarters of oats, yearly; by Walter de Wuthill, son and heir of Gilbert de Wuthill, of one half mark of rent out of land sometimes of Adam son of Brian de Howyk and Letitia his wife; and by Henry de Percy, lord of Alnewyk, son and heir of Henry de Percy, that they should have pasture for two cows in his wood of Holne, and that, whereas by the second of the aforesaid grants by John de Vesey, they had pasture

[1] Harlein MSS., No. 3897.

there for ten head, to wit, six oxen, two horses, and two asses, they should have pasture there for two cows instead of the two asses, and that they should now have pasture there for twelve head instead of ten as before.

Ralph Fresburn was born of a family of high rank in Northumberland. In the flower of his manhood he took the Cross and set out with the Crusaders for the East. On his return, about the year 1215, he joined the community on Mount Carmel and became a most exemplary religious. He left with the lords de Vesey and Grey to return to England. Arrived at Alnwick, Northumberland, the conformation of the country thereabouts seemed to him to resemble the site of the monastery on Carmel. He, therefore, begged the lord of Alnwick to found the new monastery there. Falling in with the suggestion William de Vesey [1] presented the land necessary for that purpose to the extent of twelve or thirteen acres in his park at *Holme*, and in the year 1240, Hulne Abbey, the first English monastery of the Carmelites, was built, the cost being mainly defrayed by the sale of Ralph's estates in that countryside. Of this foundation Fresburn became the first prior. He was also chosen Provincial of the new province, which he ruled, not with the severity of the imperfect, but with the considerate charity of the saints, leading his subjects, not by precept, but by example. In the General Chapter held in London in 1254 he resigned this office, and retired to the obscurity of his beloved Abbey.

In fulfilment of his part of the contract entered into with the superior of Mount Carmel Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, founded a convent at AYLESFORD (Alauni vadum), near Rochester in Kent. It stood close to the Medway, at a small distance from the village.

[1] Wood and Tanner wrongly call the founder "John" Vesey.

This house was opened about the same time as Hulne Abbey, and consequently shares with it the honour of being the first of the Carmelite foundations in England. Leland tells us that Fresburn was accompanied home by one Ivo, a native of Brittany in France, who became the first superior of Lord Grey's foundation. Lambarde says: "There was at Ailesforde, a house of the Carmelite and preaching Friars, the foundation whereof is by a Recorde ascribed to Richard the Lorde Grey of Codnore, in the time of King Henrie the third, upon whom the same King had bestowed the Manor it self." And under date the 15th of May, 1318, a licence is recorded in the Patent Rolls (Westminster, membrane 16) for the alienation in mortmain by Richard de Grey to the Carmelite prior and friars at Aylesford of a plot of meadow containing three acres for the enlargement of their premises. It was in this convent that, five years after its foundation, 1245, the first General Chapter of the Carmelite Order in Europe was held, at which St. Simon Stock was elected Prior General. It was also the setting for one of the two miracles wrought by the saint of which we read in his Office.

Apparently the Carmelites at Aylesford began to build on an extensive scale in the beginning of the fifteenth century, for, on the first of May, 1413, protection was granted for the space of ten years "for the prior and convent of the Carmelites of Aylesford and their house with their servants, carpenters, stonecutters, and workmen, stones, timber, carts, horses, and other goods and harness, saving as often as it shall please the king for any of the stonecutters and carpenters to serve him."

The ex-Carmelite historian Bale, as also Lambert and Weaver in their accurate descriptions of the Antiquities of Kent, asserts that the first and most ancient foundation of the Order in England was that at Newenden

in Kent, which was due to Sir Thomas Archer or Fitz-Archer, whose family flourished for many centuries on that manor. As a matter of fact, it would seem that Bradmere preceded Newenden, and was built very shortly after Hulne and Aylesford, whilst Newenden must be assigned to the following year.

In Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, " written in the yeere 1570," we read of Newenden : " This place is not notable for any other thing than that it harboured the first Carmelite Fryars that ever were in this Realme. For about the midst of the reigne of King Henrie the Thirde, that order came over the Sea, arrived in this lande, and made their nest at Newenden, which was before a woodie and solitarie place, and therefore (in common opinion) so much more fit for religious persons to inhabite.

" They of that profession were called Carmelites, of a hill in Syria, named Carmelus, where at first a sort of men that lived solitarily, were drawn into companies by one John (the Patriarche of Jerusalem) in the daie of King Henrie the First : And after that, coming into Europe, were by Honorius Quartus, the Pope, appointed to Rule and order, by the name of Brothers of Mary : which title liked themselves so well, that they procured of the Pope (Urbane the Sixth) three yere's pardon for all such as would so call them. But certaine merry fellows (seeing their vanitie, and knowing how little they were kin to Mary the Blessed Virgine) called them brothers of Mary Aegiptiaca the harlot, whereat the Pope himself was so offended, that he plainly pronounced them Heretikes for their labour.[1]

[1] One can easily understand the implied slur in this passage when it is remembered that it was written in the year 1570 when Elizabeth was enacting her rigorous penal laws against Catholics and their Faith. It paid in these days to write scurrilities about the Old Faith and all that pertained to it.

"I read that in the reigne of King Richard the Second, one William Starnefeld was Pryor of this house, and that he committed to writing the originall and beginning of the same. But hitherto (though to no great losse) it hath not chanced me to see it."

The William Starnefeld referred to is William Strawfield, S.T.P., a native of Kent, who was buried here in the year 1390.

However, the houses of Hulne and Aylesford continued to be amongst the most famous of the first foundations till their dissolution in the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VIII, whilst Newenden was never of much importance.

The only interesting note we have been able to discover in reference to this convent is in the Patent Rolls. A commission was issued to Master R. de Freningham on the 25th of November, 1275, "to enquire into the trespass committed by persons unknown in burning the Church and houses of the Carmelite Friars at Lessenham, near Newenden, and the sheriffs of Sussex and Kent are to provide a jury." [1] The buildings must have been re-erected, for the convent was surrendered in the general suppression.

The correct order of the early foundations seems to be as follows:

Hulne, Aylesford, and Bradmere founded in the year 1240.

London, Newenden, Burnham Norton founded in the year 1241.

The Bradmere (Norfolk) convent and White Friars, London, were also founded by Lord Grey.

Eight years now elapsed before the next, the Cambridge foundation, which became famous because of the apparition there of Our Lady to St. Simon Stock

[1] Tower of London, Memb. 35d.

on the 16th of July, 1251. There can be no doubt but that the fame of this remarkable event did much to make the new Order popular in England, in spite of the opposition with which it was assailed from many influential quarters. Almost immediately the secular authorities began to show it favour, and, exactly seventeen months after, the 16th of December, 1252, an order was issued [1] for the simple protection without term for the prior and Carmelite Friars in England, with a request that when they should come to seek for alms they should be given. Another significant fact related by Radulph de Coggeshall is that in the Octave of St. Laurence, 1253, Thomas de Hertford, archdeacon of Northumberland, died in the odour of sanctity. "He was a lover of holy poverty and willed his body to the poorest house of the Carmelites." [2] This same year saw the opening of the convent at York, and the next year that at Oxford.

It is instructive to note the intimate interest which the State in these days took in the religious orders, and in the Mendicants, especially.

Almost all learning was gathered together in the monasteries and priories, and the services of the religious were in constant demand in the administration of the State, since the kings and the nobles knew little else but whatever pertained to the arts of war. It is thus that we find the friars holding the highest legislative offices. They are the educators, not merely in the schools and churches, but in the halls of justice, on the field of battle, in the king's palace, and the peasant's cottage. Almost invariably they were selected as confessors to the kings and young princes whom they guided as equals and trained as fathers. The great universities, most of which were papal foundations,

[1] Patent Rolls, Mottisfont, Memb. 21.
[2] Chronicon Anglicanum.

knew the habit of each of the four mendicant orders, and the professor's chair was constantly honoured by it. They gave signal service in the administration of Justice and the ruling of the State, and were the natural protectors of the poor, being themselves protected by the great in return. The loftiness of their vocation was recognised by the Catholic ruler and the feudal baron. Since Faith was a living thing, and the inspiration of mediaeval life, the mighty were as much in need of their spiritual help as the orders were of temporal support and protection.

" Throughout the Middle Ages," writes Rev. Thomas J. Shahan,[1] " all law was looked on as coming from God, as holy, and therefore in a way subject to the approval and custody of the Church. It was the crown of the moral order, the basis of right conduct, and hence the royal chanceries of Europe were always governed by an ecclesiastic, whose duty it was to enlighten the king's conscience, and to see that neither the gospel nor the spirit of it were infringed."

We are not then surprised to find a close co-operation between Church and State, to learn that large numbers of the priories were founded by the king and endowed by the opulent. They were the recognition, and in a sense the reward, for signal services already rendered. They were the manifestation of a living Faith, for men then appreciated the efficacy of prayer, of prayer for the dead as well as the living.

One interesting instance of this co-operation is the exercise of the law against friars who tried to evade the obligations of their profession. The sheriffs and bailiffs were ordered to arrest such and hand them over to their superiors for punishment. The first such notice applying to the Carmelites is to be found in the

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[1] The Middle Ages.

Patent Rolls under date the 20th of March, 1255. Letters of protection and Safe-Conduct were issued on the 2nd of August, 1276, covering one year, for Ralph de Fryston, Prior General of the Carmelites, going beyond the seas to his general chapter; and another, for two years, dated the 20th of January, 1303, for Brother William Pagani of Haneberg, Carmelite, whom the Prior General has sent to visit the brethren and houses of the Order in England, and the fellow friars in his company.[1]

We have seen how the Carmelites were made the object of a venemous attack by the opulent beneficed clergy, who felt that the lives of the mendicants were a reflection on their attachment to their worldly riches. Thus they were constrained to fight for their very existence from the day of their coming to England. The first English General, St. Simon Stock, had successfully defended his Order against its enemies. But this was only the first skirmish, and the fight continued to rage throughout the first two centuries of its English life. It is hard to surmise what would have been its fate had it not received the enthusiastic support of those in high places in the realm. The king, and the nobles generally, had early become attached to the Carmelites, and the happy issue of the contest was undoubtedly due, in a great measure at least, to their support.

In the beginning of October, 1282, Peter de Millau, the Prior General, appealed to Edward I to use his influence with the Holy Father on behalf of the Order. His letter and those of the king are preserved in *Rymer's Foedera*, and since they are of the utmost im-

[1] Similar licences were granted whenever the General would visit the English Province. On the 26th of January, 1413, protection for one year was granted to John Grossi, professor of theology, lately elected Prior General, and six men in his company, and their horses and harness. On the 10th of June, 1442, protection to John Fassy, Prior General, &c,

portance in the history of the Carmelites in general we translate them in full.

The Prior General, Peter, to Edward I

" Most illustrious lord; pious and merciful king; the support, in all your territory, of the oppressed, the fugitive, and the poor; ruling autonomously and reigning peacefully; whose throne the nation, humbly submissive and anxious to please you, reverences; deign to hear and heed the lowly prayers of Brother Peter, Prior General of the Friars of the Order of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, your devoted, though undeserving and unworthy subjects, which he offers on bended knees, on behalf of himself and his entire Order, to your illustrious and royal majesty in the following terms:

" Brother Peter, the said Prior General, makes known to your illustrious royal majesty that when our lord, Pope Gregory the Tenth, in the Council of Lyons, thought of legislating for the said Order, he commanded that it should remain as it was till he should arrange otherwise, intending to legislate in regard to this Order, as well as the others, even the non-mendicants, as far as he should judge necessary for the salvation of their souls and their status:

" Nevertheless some who are wanting in the fear of God are at pains to interpret the above constitution harshly and contrary to its meaning, perverting its due and intended sense to the injury, oppression, and prejudice of the said Prior and his whole Order, and even to the grave scandal of the faithful by alienating them from the special devotion of these Friars and their Order.

" Therefore, since there is no earthly prince or king to whose protection and help they dare confidently, or with profit, have recourse, unless to your most illus-

trious and pious royal majesty, he entreats you, in the names of God and the most glorious Virgin, that you will intercede with the Prince of the Roman Church, our Father, the Supreme Pontiff, to this end that he may pronounce upon and interpret the said constitution, so that all the doubt which wars against the interests of the Order being removed it may regain its first strength. Then all the friars of the Order, acknowledging their redemption from their present bondage to be due to you (in the same manner as the Jews owed their redemption to Moses, and Christianity, in a better and fuller sense, to Christ), will hold in everlasting memory yourself, your children, and the prosperity of your kingdom, and will, day and night, pour forth earnest prayers to God and the glorious Virgin (in whose praise and honour this Order was instituted and existed in the lands beyond the seas) for the repose of the souls of your predecessors and the heaping up of merits for the partners of your throne.

"We will, moreover, seek, in so far as lies in our power, to win for your illustrious royal majesty acts of grace from our said holy lord, the Supreme Pontiff, who, as we learn from the contents of your letters, has benignly received and favourably considered your kingly prayers made to him on behalf of us and our Order.

"We will seek the same, and even greater favours from our venerable father, the Lord Hugh, by the Grace of God, Cardinal-Priest (whose honour and glory adorn and exalt the nation from which he is sprung), who has not only earnestly regarded your prayers on our behalf and on behalf of others, but has sedulously and devotedly carried out your wishes. From his report we have learned that we might obtain what we principally seek if you directed your urgent petitions to this end to our holy lord, the Supreme Pontiff, himself.

"Therefore, we beseech you, our lord and pious king,

that it may please you to write thus efficaciously, and this time to our lord, the Supreme Pontiff, himself, on the said business of our Order, so that you may be regarded before God and men as our deliverer; and that, moreover, your soul's crown, which is already prepared for you in heaven, may be adorned with an increase of precious gems in reward for this pious deed;

" To whom may the holy and glorious Trinity grant the success and the prosperity which you desire, together with a length of happy days, the most grateful reconciliation of your enemies, as well as peaceful and unspeakable joy in your friendships."

That the Carmelites were much in favour with the king, and that he took a keen interest in their struggles, is evident from the readiness of his response as well as the tone of his letters.

Edward I to the Pope

A few days later, the 16th of October, Edward commanded W. de Odiham and A. de Berton to " write friendly letters on his behalf to their lordships E., bishop of Tusculano, cardinal of the most holy Roman Church; H., titulo Sancti Laurenti in Lucina, cardinal-priest; J., Sanctae Mariae in Cosmydin, cardinal-deacon; M., Sanctae Mariae in Porticu, cardinal-deacon, to the effect that since the Pope, having left the status of the Friars of Mount Carmel in suspense after the Council of Lyons, has not up to the present confirmed it, it may please the said cardinals to make an earnest effort to have the former status of the said friars confirmed. Also to write to the Prior General of the said Order, who had begged the king to interest himself in this matter by letters herein included, saying that our lord, the said king, was very grateful to him for the prayers which the said friars offer up continually

for him, his children, and his kingdom; and he asks that in their prayers they may always keep him specially in mind. And you will inform him what the king has written to the cardinals; but that he has, for certain reasons, put off writing for the present about this matter to the Pope." [1]

Nor was his successor, Edward II, less assiduous in his care of the Order. On the 24th of August, 1311, he wrote as follows to the Pope:

Edward II to the Pope

"Although we regard all the religious who are subject to our rule and dominion kindly, still, we are specially disposed to love the friars of the Order of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, and we most strongly desire to see them and their Order fortified by the favour and grace of your apostolic clemency, because this Order was founded in honour of the ever memorable and glorious Virgin, and because the said friars, dwelling under our rule and dominion, have always been, and do still continue to be, a credit to the religious life.

"We, therefore, devoutly pray Your Holiness in honour of the most glorious Virgin and in response to our pleas, to take under your special protection the said friars, their Order, and the antiquity of the said Order; and to perpetuate and confirm the said Order, by the munificent liberality of your apostolic power, in the course of the General Council [2] now assembled by you through the Divine Mercy. So that, as the glorious Virgin, the elect of God, takes precedence over all other creatures in heaven, so the said friars, who are devoted to her service on earth, may, supported by the grace of your apostolic clemency, serve God the more peacefully and the more devoutly."

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[1] *Rymer's Foedera*, vol. I.
[2] The Fifteenth Oecumenical Council of Vienne (1311-12).

Again, on the 12th of March, 1317, the same king writes to the Pope :

" Amongst the other fruitful works of devotion and piety we, with reason, believe that to be grateful and acceptable to God by which the honour of God, the increase of Divine Worship is secured, and the number of religious, labouring assiduously in the exercise of Divine Praise in the house of the Lord, is happily increased.

" We, therefore, write in reference to the Order of Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel in our kingdom, which we very gladly cultivate with the most intimate affection because of the sanctity of their life, their probity of manner, and the abundant fruits which they, by the preaching of the word of God and other good works and examples, bring forth day by day in the Church in England.

" Bearing these things in mind; and hoping, by the help of their Masses and other devout prayers, to be aided the more efficaciously to expiate Our sins and to perform the duties laid on Our royal shoulders more fortunately and more fruitfully,

" We beg your clemency by affectionate prayers that, as Our beloved in Christ, Brother John, Prior Provincial of the said Order in England, Professor of Sacred Theology, and Brother William, Prior of the Friars of the same Order in Oxford, are going to your Holiness's presence, you will be pleased to regard them as commended by our enthusiastic favour :

" That they, and the other friars of their Order dwelling in our kingdom, situated in different dioceses, for the furtherance of Divine Worship, and the increase in the membership of their Order, may erect churches and convents in these places :

" That the priors and friars may be able to celebrate the Divine Mysteries there for ever, to the honour of

God, for Us, Our heirs and successors, for the tranquility and peace of Our kingdom, and for the salvation of the souls of all the faithful:

"That you may, by way of Divine Charity and in view of Our prayers, deign to grant them freedom in accordance with the petition of the said friars in which their wishes are more fully set out, and which they, benignly admitted to your presence, will present to your Holiness, and which we earnestly desire you to hear." [1]

But perhaps the influence of the Church on the State is best shown by a request from Edward II to the Prior General, dated the 24th of July, 1312, "or to him who supplies his place, and to the Prior Provincial of the same Order in England, that they will grant to Brother John de Bounkill, of their Order, licence to set out to the Holy Land, and provide him a companion from their Order and enjoin the brethren of their Order where the said John and his companion may happen to rest, to receive and treat them well, the said John having vowed to go to the Holy Land for the health of the king and his subjects, being now ready and desirous to set out." This practise of going on pilgrimages for the good of the State seems to have been not uncommon, for, on the 3rd of April, 1323, there is a like request, for one year, addressed "to the Prior General, Prior Provincial and local to receive favourably Richard Baldewyn, Carmelite, one of the king's household (familiaris noster), who is going in fulfilment of a vow on pilgrimage to the shrines of St. Mary the Virgin of Toulouse, St. James, and St. Mary Magdalene."

Besides founding monasteries the king usually ordered oaks to be given out of his forests to be used in the con-

[1] *Rymer's Foedera*, vol II, part i, p. 316.

struction of the churches. Such gifts, by way of the king's alms, are constantly occurring in the Close Rolls. Another interesting alms is noted under date the 16th of April, 1347, in the reign of Edward III. "Whereas, as the king has heard, his progenitors, kings of England, and he himself have paid to the Carmelite Friars £10 as alms for their General Chapter, celebrated every three years on some festival of the Virgin Mary, he for their security has granted that they shall have the said sum for every General Chapter, to wit at the Exchequer at the Easter next before the celebration of such Chapter, during his pleasure." A similar grant was accorded on the 1st of July, 1401, of £10 each year for the Provincial Chapter, in furtherance of a like grant by Letters Patent of Richard II.

In return the friars were expected to pray for the king, and requests to this effect are frequently found in the State Papers. On the 12th of February, 1331, the king requested the Carmelites to pray for himself, his queen, and his son Edward. On the 6th of May, 1346, the king ordered the Carmelites and others to offer thanksgiving and prayers for the successes of the Earl of Lancaster then in Gascony.

But benefices to the Order did not come from the rulers only. The popularity of the Carmelites is shown in the fact that all classes and conditions took the opportunity of showing their appreciation of their work. Charles H. Pearson sums up the range of their influence when he writes: [1] "It is good proof of the ability with which the new Orders met the necessities of the times, that their success was especially great among the three classes who were most essentially modern, the thinker, the merchant, and the unprivileged townsman."

From the year 1257 the progress of the Carmelite Order in England was extraordinarily rapid, and for the

[1] Early and Middle Ages.

remainder of the century very few years passed in which there was not at least one new convent opened. Besides a number of convents which come within this period, but of whose foundations the dates are not known exactly, and those we have already mentioned in this chapter, the following is the list for the first sixty years of the Order's residence in England:

1258, Norwich (Bradley); 1268, Bridport and Stamford; 1269, Lincoln and Gloucester; 1270, Berwick; 1271, Northampton; 1272, Nottingham, Sandwich, Ipswich, and Winchester; 1281, Appelby; 1290, Hull; 1292, Maldon; 1293, Boston; 1296, Blakeney; and Sutton (temp. Ed. I).

This wonderful progress was undoubtedly due in great measure to the fame of the vision which Our Lady vouchsafed to St. Simon Stock, when she presented him with the Holy Scapular as the sign of her special protection of the Order, and the guarantee of its permanence. It is stated that at one time the English Province numbered as many as fifteen hundred subjects.

Even at the expense of the unity of this work we propose, in dealing with the various English foundations, to depart from the chronological order. We could not otherwise treat of them as fully as we judge to be desirable. To the more important houses we shall, then, assign separate chapters, and, in the case of the smaller convents, treat of several in one chapter.

CHAPTER IX

WHITE FRIARS—LONDON

" Tax not the royal Saint with vain expense,
With ill-matched aims, the architect who planned
(Albeit laboring for a scanty band
Of white-robed scholars only) this immense
And glorious work of fine intelligence."

As soon as the Carmelites settled in England they became popularly known as the " White Friars," a name that had its origin, of course, in the wearing of the White Mantle, which continued for three centuries to be one of the most conspicuous features in London, Oxford, Cambridge, and countless other places throughout the country.

The London monastery of the Order was founded by that devoted friend Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, in Fleet Street, in the year 1241. According to Stowe, King Edward I gave a plot of land there on which to erect the monastery. This, of course, is incorrect, since Edward was not born till 1239. Bell suggests that this parcel of land was given about twenty-five years after the foundation for the purpose of erecting extensions thereon. The first church, a small structure, was built almost immediately after the foundation.

The site was a particularly good one for two reasons, viz., because of its proximity to the city, as it then was, and because it had a water frontage. It was not, however, ideal, for, in the year 1290, many of the friars died from a disease due to the insanitary condition of their surroundings.

A comparatively small and insignificant foundation at first, it gradually developed to great proportions and became exceedingly influential. This was due, in part, to its convenient situation, but, mainly, to the skill with which the members of the fraternity executed important political and diplomatic business, thereby rendering their services necessary to the authorities and winning the favour and patronage of persons in the highest places. The two first Edwards were especially generous benefactors, for, besides many gifts of land and money, they accorded the friars numerous privileges and exemptions of great importance. An indication of this influence is to be found in a grant, dated the 23rd of January, 1279, made at the instance of the friars " to William atte Welle, of the parish of St. Clement without the Bar of the New Temple, London, and to his heirs, to hold the houses which he has in the street opposite to the said church on the north side, quit of all livery which is wont to be made by stewards, marshals, or any other ministers whatsoever; so that no person hereafter be lodged in those houses by such livery against their will." Apparently this William was a benefactor of the Carmelites who secured him the privilege as a recognition of his services.

It would seem as if the friars were at this time engaged in carrying out some extensions, for, on the 16th of May, 1299, an order was issued to Hugh le Despenser to provide them with thirteen oaks from the wood of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, at " Assherugge, which is within the bounds of the King's wood of Wyndesore."

In the year 1310 Edward II assembled Parliament at London, and, on the 27th of February articles were presented to him by the lords, in which they asserted that he was being guided by bad counsellors, and that he was consequently so impoverished that he was com-

pelled to live by extortion. Through this ill-advice he had also lost Scotland, and his whole kingdom was dismembered. The reference is to the young Gascon, Piers Gaveston, whom Edward I had banished, but who was recalled by Edward II, created Earl of Cornwall, and married to the king's niece. When the king went over to France to espouse the Princess Isabella, he left Gaveston guardian of the realm. The lords demanded redress by the ordinance of the baronage, and, on the 16th of March, the king consented to the appointment of " ordainers," granting them full powers to reform his realm and household. The lords met for this purpose at White Friars where, the next day, the first ordinances were signed.

The importance of the Carmelites increased greatly after the fall of the Knights Templars, who had established themselves at Fleet Street about the middle of the twelfth century, where the Temple Church, which remains to this day, was consecrated in the year 1195. This Military Order had gained immense influence. It had also amassed great wealth which was stored in the Temples of Paris and London. This fact excited the jealousy of the rival Military Order of Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem and the cupidity of the self-willed and cunning Philip the Fair, King of France, who exercised extreme cruelty in extorting by torture false confessions from the Templars for the furtherance of his ambitions. The Knights Templars were suppressed on the 22nd of March, 1312, by the Bull, " Vox in excelsis," of Clement V. It was a sad ending to a glorious history, for many thousands of the Knights had valiantly laid down their lives in fighting for the Faith against the infidel hordes. They had exercised great influence in the affairs of State, which now passed to the two mendicant orders, the Dominicans and, especially, the Carmelites.

The Chancery was for a time established at White Friars where, during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, councils, both royal and ecclesiastical, were held. Thus, in the year 1319, the Archbishop of Canterbury convoked the clergy of all England to meet in London. They assembled at St. Paul's on the 22nd of April, but met on the following seven days at the Carmelite monastery.

One can easily fancy what an inconvenience it would be to a house of strict observance to have court officials quartered on the monastery in accordance with the custom of the times. From the notice given to it in the State Papers of the day it would seem that exemption from the law was not an ordinary privilege. On the 23rd of May, 1320, Edward II, as a special favour, granted such exemption to the Carmelite prior " Adam de Brown, king's clerk, and to the Carmelite Friars of Fletestrete in the suburb of London, for the life of the said Adam, and after his death for the Friars and their successors, for all houses built by them, or to be built in the soil of the said Friars in Fletestrete, from livery of the king's stewards and marshalls; further no officer of the king shall lodge therein."

In the following year we find the king personally guarding the rights of the Carmelites. They had erected a " purpresture " in the parish of St. Dunstan West, London. The term signifies an enclosure or encroachment on something that belongs to another person or the public, as a wall or building obstructing a highway. The cause for its destruction was heard before the justices at the Tower, who decided that it should be thrown down. But the king interfered, and, on the 4th of July, ordered the sheriffs of London to cease the work of destruction till he had been fully certified concerning the whole matter.

Eleven days later, the 15th of July, Parliament was

assembled at Westminster. A great revolt of the barons against the king had just broken out, because of the latter's marked favour towards Hugh le Despenser, the younger, a young nobleman who now occupied the place of favourite. In this Parliament the Despensers, father and son, were doomed to exile, the king being compelled to confirm the sentence. But Edward, with the aid of his favourites, raised an army and attacked the barons who were headed by the Earl of Hereford. The Earl was taken prisoner and executed at Pomfret, together with several others. The Archbishop of Canterbury intervened to bring about peace between the king and the lords. To this end they assembled at White Friars, the result of their deliberations being that, on the 14th of August, the king yielded to the demands of the barons.

A royal council was held at the monastery in the year 1339, as appears from a memorandum, dated the 8th of December, stating that, on the death, at the house of the bishop of Winchester in Southwark (sic), of Richard, Bishop of London, the king's Chancellor, the great seal was taken to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, who sent it to the house of the Carmelite Friars in Fleet Street, where the king's council was then sitting.

The Carmelites enjoyed the favour, not only of kings and nobles, but of the municipality and people of all classes, with the result that their property steadily increased. In the year 1349 they decided to rebuild their priory and church, when Crokers Lane was granted to them by the mayor and commonalty of the city for the extension of the west end. On the 29th of May licence was granted " to enclose a lane on the king's soil in the suburb of the city called ' Crokkerslane ' to the west of their dwelling place reaching from Fleet Street to the Thames, 660 feet long by 12 feet broad, for extensions.

Licence also to make a well in the said street for the easements of the inhabitants." Again, on the 12th of November, licence was given for a grant by Thomas de Fencotes of a messuage with appurtenances for enlargements " and the new work or fabric of their church now begun there in honour of the Virgin Mary, and for a perpetual celebration of Divine Service for his good estate, for his soul and the soul of Joan his late wife." Whilst, on the 28th of May, 1350, licence was granted for alienation in mortmain of a plot of land 500 long by 20 feet broad by Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who was at this time rebuilding the church. Besides these, countless small benefactions were made by the poorer citizens, and frequent mention is made of the friars in Wills. Under this general favour the priory thrived and the number of its members increased greatly. Mr. Bell says there were some hundreds of friars resident there at times, " whose long white mantle, worn in public over the brown habit, made them the most familiar figures in Fleet Street till the dissolution of their London house in 1538. They were more familiar, indeed, than the gowned lawyers of the Temple."

Almost from the inception of the Mendicant Orders they had met with a determined opposition from the opulent secular clergy and some of the wealthy monasteries,[1] for these appreciated that the recognition of the mendicants, and the approbation of their penitential Rules by the Holy See, was the first step in an organised plan of religious reformation. As early as the year 1256 Alexander IV had condemned and degraded William de Sancto Amore for his unjust persecution of the new orders, had ordered a work of his that was full

[1] *Cf.* Chap. X.

of bitter invective to be burned, and excommunicated all who should retain copies of it.

The mendicants were exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and had been granted extensive faculties for preaching and hearing confessions, together with the right of sepulchre in their churches,—privileges hitherto reserved to the secular clergy. It seemed to the latter that they were thus deprived of a considerable portion of their rightful revenues. Besides, as confessors and preachers, the orders became immensely popular, so that many a benefice now came to them that might otherwise have gone elsewhere. Lastly, their religious profession imposed on them the obligation of living on alms donated by the faithful as a reward for their services.

The bitterness was most intense throughout the fourteenth century, and no opportunity for slur or slander was missed. In the pulpits and at the market-crosses torrents of invective were poured forth on communities of religious men, whose only crime was the high standard of their spiritual lives, their missionary self-sacrifice, and their unprecedented intellectual attainments. But these attacks were not allowed to pass unchallenged, and the chief protagonists of the mendicants were the Carmelites, on whom, consequently, fell the brunt of the conflict. But they had mighty champions to do battle in the interests of the reformation, who were upheld by the consciousness of the justice of their cause. "They felt," writes Turner, "that the property and luxury of the great English clergy were inconsistent with their Chistianity." [1] It must also be admitted that this luxury was, in part at least, responsible for the outburst of heresy that followed in its train.

[1] *History of England During the Middle Ages* (1853), S. Turner, F.S.A., R.A.

The end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth brought a new element of strife into the lives of the Carmelites. This time, however, they were the attackers, for they felt themselves bound by honour as well as duty to defend the purity of Catholic doctrine against those who would pollute it. The first to dishonour the proud name of Catholic England was John Wicliff, who, about the year 1366, rose in revolt against God, the Church, the Sacraments, the clergy, and sought to overthrow the very fundamentals of religion. His rebellious faction, increasing from day to day by the addition of the most iniquitous, tried by every disgraceful means to upset all law and order. There were many, however, to undertake the strangling of this monster. Amongst the most doughty of these champions were the Carmelites, John Kinningham, Prior Provincial, who was the very first to engage with Wicliff in public disputations; Stephen Patrington, Richard Maidstone, Thomas Lambe, Walter Dysse, John Marry, Richard Lavingham, Richard Maydesley, Richard Lanynfans, Thomas Netter Walden, last and greatest of all, and many others. About the year 1380 Wicliff took up a position of definite hostility to the Church, and attacked the Pope and the friars with the greatest violence. His attack on the mendicants was dictated by policy. In the first place, the new orders were the most trusty and the most capable champions of the Holy See. In the second, he thought to utilise the antagonism to them to win to his side the secular and monastic clergy. It was about this time that he sent out his "poor priests" from Oxford, in which university his position was established through the influence of his philosophical and theological teachings. The Carmelites had now a double menace to face, but they had, also, great men, intellectually and spiritually great, to enter the combat with the courage of lions.

These were the most able opponents of the Wicliffites, especially in the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI, and some of them, faithful to the last, suffered greatly in the cause of truth.

Richard Lavingham, who was born at Suffolk, was but a child when he became an ardent lover of sacred literature,[1] and he entered the Carmelite monastery of Ipswich as a mere boy. Endowed with all the graces, the youth was universally beloved by his contemporaries. He had many admirers, a few imitators, but no superior or equal. At Oxford he graduated as Master in Theology with the highest honours, and, later, occupied the theological chair in that university. A deep thinker, a fluent speaker, incisive in judgment, to which natural endowments he added an expert knowledge of numerous subjects, he was famous both at home and abroad. The circumstances of the times gave him plenty of scope for the exercise of his great ability, since the heresies of Wicliff and his followers, the Lollards, were then raging. In refuting them and crushing their presumption he spent himself, showing an inexhaustible zeal and achieving immense results. His literary output alone was extraordinary. He is said to have written ninety volumes, the manuscripts of some being still preserved in the British Museum,[2] and Bale considered his literary activity as almost miraculous. The *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* gives a list of sixty-two of his works on such a variety of subjects as Scripture, Theology, Patrology, Philosophy, Physics, against the Wicliff heresies, the Revelation of St. Brigit, about the origin of the Carmelite Order, etc. The heretics he regarded as the sworn enemies of God. He hated them as the destroying enemies of the Church, overwhelmed them in public disputations, attacked them vehemently in his

[1] "Quas primum post lac nutricis alimentum imbibit."—Lesana.
[2] Harlein MS., 211.

sermons, refuted, condemned, and crushed out their vile teachings by his writings. Meanwhile he was confessor to Richard II and the king's cousin, the Earl of Derby, and a dear friend of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he aided in his responsible office by wise counsels, and with whom he was associated even in death.

As John of Gaunt favoured Wicliff, the archbishop, hoping to preserve the peace and avoid an outbreak, hesitated to proceed against the latter, but his hand was forced by William Courtenay, Bishop of London, and William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. In 1380 Sudbury was created Lord Chancellor and thus was, in name at least, responsible for poll-tax which was the occasion of Watt Tyler's rebellion in the following year. This rebellion had a religious origin under a political mask. It was, in reality, the revenge of the Wicliffites against a good man, who hoped against hope for their return to sanity and grace, and who made himself unpopular with the orthodox by deferring, in his charity, the extreme action that worldly wisdom dictated. The mob was worked up to a fury against the archbishop and his adherents, who fled from Windsor to the Tower of London for security together with the king, the Earl of Derby, Sir Robert Hales, Master of the Knights of St. John and Treasurer, and about one hundred knights. On the 14th of June the archbishop had just celebrated Mass when the mob burst into the Tower and dragged him, Hales, William Apuldore, Richard Lavingham, Legge, the farmer of the tax, and three of his associates, to execution. The head of the archbishop was carried in triumph through the streets on the point of a lance, and fixed on London Bridge, the hat that he had worn being nailed to the skull that it might the more easily be recognised.

When the rebels were engaged in the work of

destruction at the Temple and Savoy during the Peasants' Revolt they did not molest the White Friars close by nor injure their property, because of the great respect in which they were held by the people. At Cambridge, however, they sacked St. Mary's Church and the Carmelite monastery. Indeed, they had made up their minds to destroy all privileged orders in both the Church and State, preserving the mendicants only, because, they being the guardians and protectors of the poorer populace, it was unsafe for the moment to make a direct attack on communities that were so popular. Good policy, not love, guided the heretical fomentors of the Watt Tyler rebellion. The only Carmelite who fell a victim to their fury was Richard Lavingham, and, in his case, it was owing to the fact that he remained faithful to the mild and gentle archbishop, whose assassination was instigated by the Lollards.[1] If ever all the facts become known, it is within the region of possibility that this pre-eminent Carmelite, who gave up his life for his episcopal friend, may be found worthy of a place in the Church's martyrology. Unfortunately, the worldly wisdom that guides the enemies of the Church succeeds sometimes in covering up the traces of its own wrong-doing by the destruction, by incendiarism or otherwise, of the proofs of sanctity in its adversaries. There is little left by which to form a final judgment in this case.

Richard Lavingham was at one time prior of the Carmelites at Bristol, and, according to Zimmerman, died in the year 1383 at this convent. On what grounds this is confidently asserted [2] we do not know, for this writer does not tell us. Elsewhere [3] Father Zimmerman

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[1] Lezana, *Bibliotheca Carm.*, and elsewhere.
[2] The White Friars of Ipswich, Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, 1899.
[3] *Cath. Encycl.*

seems to accept the orthodox account of his death which we have given above.

The followers of Wicliff were known as the Lollards, and so powerful did they become, such a menace did they prove to law and order, that the State came to the aid of the Church, and, in the beginning of Henry IV's reign, 1401, passed a law, " De Haeretico Comburendo," —for the burning of heretics,—by which it was hoped that they might be put down.

The Carmelites, Walden and Pecock, were the first to point out that the essential error of the Lollards, at that date at least, lay in their doctrine that the Bible was the sole rule of faith, and, thus, provided an alternative to the authority of the Church.

The law relating to apostate friars, mentioned in our last chapter, was still very vigorously executed. On the 8th of October, 1393, the king's sergeants-at-arms, John Drox and David Bertevyll, were appointed to arrest Thomas Bumstede, an apostate Carmelite friar, and deliver him to the superiors of his Order for punishment. The charge was laid against him by John Campton, prior of White Friars, London. As a like commission had been issued on the 1st of March, 1391, it would seem that he had evaded arrest for a considerable time. Another similar case was that of Matthew Tyderle, whose arrest was ordered on the 27th of July, 1390. A grant was now made to Robert Whitheved, Prior Provincial, of all his goods and chattels, in whoever's hands they might be found, which he had forfeited " for what he had done against the king's regality."

The new works on the church must have been of very considerable extent, since we find Sir Robert Knolles, the eminent builder of Rochester bridge and celebrated in the French wars, still engaged on them in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. He carried out a con-

siderable portion of the rebuilding, his time and skill being freely given by way of a benefice. The choir, the presbytery and the steeple which was such a conspicuous feature of old London, together with other parts, were added by Robert Mascall, Bishop of Hereford, and himself a Carmelite.

Robert Mascall, who was born at Ludlow in Shropshire, entered the Carmelite Order in his earliest youth. He was a brilliant student and took his Doctor's degrees in philosophy and theology at Oxford with the highest possible honours, and later, was professor of these subjects at the same university. Of him the antiquarian Anthony Wood wrote that he was one of those eminent students that have "benefited the world with their writings," adding, "so much did he profit in learning and other virtues among these brethren, that he was greatly loved and admired by all men. King Henry IV made choice of him for his confessor, and after sent him ambassador unto the forraigne princes." In the Patent Rolls, under date the 6th of November, 1401, we find a grant to "Robert Mascal of the Order of Carmelite Friars, king's confessor, whom the king has charged to stay continually about his person for the safety of his soul, for the maintenance of himself, his fellows and his men and servants within the household, and four horses and one hakeney, of 3s. daily, amounting to £54 12s. yearly; for the wages of each of four grooms keeping the horses 1½d. daily, amounting to £9 2s. 6d. yearly; and for other small necessaries 116s. yearly, to be received yearly at the Exchequer from the day of the coronation so long as he shall be the king's confessor."

On the death of Alexander Petit, Bishop of Meath, on the 10th of November, 1400, Henry IV had endeavoured, though in vain, to secure this see for his confessor, and the temporalities were actually granted to him. But Robert Montain was appointed by the

Pope against the King's wishes, and succeeded thereto. Mascall was also a very dear friend of Henry V, through whose influence he was afterwards made Bishop of Hereford, as suffragan to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in July, 1404. On the 25th of September, 1404, a mandate was issued by the King from Tutbury Castle " to the escheator in the county of Hereford, and the march of Wales adjacent for the restitution of the temporalities of the bishopric of Hereford to Robert Mascall, Carmelite, professor of the sacred page, whom the Pope has appointed bishop on the death of John Trevenaunt, and whose fealty the king has taken." It was through the influence of this king also that he was summoned, together with two other English bishops, to be present at the Council of Constance. Two years after his return he died, in the convent of the Carmelites at Ludlow, on the 22nd of December, 1418, and was buried in a tomb of alabaster in the church of the London White Friars which he had so beautifully adorned. He was a writer of some note, and the names of four of his works are preserved.

The property of the London Carmelites was now bounded by the Temple, the Thames, and Fleet Street. Accompanying a most interesting paper, published by Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, and entitled " The Topography of the Carmelite Priory in London," is a plan of the priory at the time of the suppression, with the present streets inserted in dotted lines. From this one may get a splendid idea of its final ramifications. The church shows as an outstanding feature in Van der Wyngarde's sixteenth-century drawing of London, " its conical pointed steeple distinguishing it from all others that crowd into the panorama." Gilbert, Bishop of London, was consecrated here by Cardinal Beaufort in the year 1436. The main church which was open to the

public consisted of a preaching nave separated from two aisles by rows of columns. It is now known to have been about 150 feet long and 80 feet wide. Robert Mascall's choir was in the position of a continuation of the preaching nave, but separated from it by a walk about 10 feet wide. The choir was about 95 feet long by 30 feet wide.

The exact position and size of the cloister and buildings may be ascertained from a manuscript survey plan of the White Friars Precinct of the seventeenth century preserved in the Print Room of the British Museum. This interesting plan is rendered all the more valuable by the copious notes appended thereto. A copy of this plan is also reproduced by Mr. Clapham, and a most detailed and erudite description given of the precinct and the buildings.

One of the most resplendent stars of the Carmelite firmament, and, certainly, the outstanding and most powerful man of the day, was Thomas Netter Walden. He was born at Saffron Waldon, in the County of Essex, probably about the year 1377, for he would have been about seven years of age at the time of Wicliff's death. As a youth he joined the Carmelite Order at the London monastery, then the largest house of the Order, where his gravity of manner, kindly speech, mildness, humility, and keenness of intellect at once gave great promise of a brilliant future. On being sent to Oxford to pursue his studies he at once made his mark as a student of theology. Appreciating that a knowledge of the humanities and of the oriental languages was essential to any deep knowledge of that science he spent all his spare time in the study of Greek, Hebrew, and the classic poets, of which subjects he became a profound master. Having graduated as Master of Theology with the highest honours he was elevated to the professor's chair, and thereafter occupied in rapid

succession almost all the responsible positions in Church and State. Consumed with the knowledge and the love of God he undertook the task of preaching in public, although exempted, in order to spread abroad the sacred fire. As Pitseus says: "So powerful were his exhortations that whatever he desired his hearers to do, was done." His great sanctity and unprecedented genius being known to all he was frequently chosen to address the assembled clergy, and, in the capacity of King's Preacher, to preach before the king and the nobles. Many of the most brilliant men of the time came from afar to hear him, and considered it an honour to be permitted to dedicate their literary works to him.

Amongst the many skilled controversialists that the Order sent into the field against Wicliff and his followers Walden was easily the greatest. Though almost the last to enter the arena he won the palm from all his predecessors. So complete and overwhelming was his doctrine, so many illustrious works did he write in refuting the heretics, that he crushed not only those of his own time, but those also of the succeeding ages, and became known as the Prince of Controversialists, the True Sword of the Church, the Defender of the Faith, the Everlasting Hammer of the Heretics. His admirers, mindful of the "Retiarii" in the gladiatorial combats, loved to play with his surname Netter, for surely never was there such a netter of heretics.

It was with the followers of Wicliff, the Lollards, that Walden closed. His first victim was John de Castro Veteri, a military officer whom he challenged to a public disputation, and whom, in the presence of Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, and an immense concourse of people, he made bite the dust. The subject chosen on this occasion was the obedience due to the Roman Pontiff. His next was Peter Clerk, better known as Peter Payne (Paganus), a priest, Doctor

of Philosophy, and principal of St. Edmund Hall, whom he routed in the public halls of Oxford University on the subjects of the Eucharist, religion, and the vows of Mendicants. Next came William Whyte, a most bitter disciple of Wicliff, only to tread the same path of humiliation. Thus did the great champion labour day and night, preaching, writing, and training others to enter the lists, till he seemed to have no time for sleep, being at last summoned to place his great faculties at the service of the Universal Church.

In the year 1409 he went to the Council of Pisa as the official representative of King Henry IV, in which capacity he did incalculable service. To get some idea of the extent of that service one must have some knowledge of the ends for which the Council was assembled.

For thirty years the Church had been torn by schism, till at last the Cardinals determined to make a supreme effort to bring about unity. Wherefore those dwelling at Rome gathered in Conclave and decreed, swore, and bound themselves solemnly by oath, that if one of their number should be chosen as Supreme Pontiff, he would, for the sake of unity, abdicate, provided that the Cardinals who were living in opposition at Avignon should be willing to agree to the election of a true pope, about whose credentials there could be no doubt. This oath was subscribed to by Angelus Corarius, who was afterwards elected in the Roman Conclave, and was confirmed in writing by him under the name of Gregory XII. The Cardinals at Avignon took the oath in turn, and amongst them Petrus de Luna who wished, after his election, to be named Benedict XIII. But when the latter refused to abdicate, Gregory also determined not to yield. Wherefore the Cardinals of his Conclave withdrew their allegiance from him on the ground that he had violated his oath, and assembled at Pisa, where, on the 24th of June, 1408, they summoned

a Council to meet on the 25th of March following. Gregory XII retorted by condemning the Cardinals themselves as rebels and their Council as schismatical. He summoned a Council of his own at Justinopolis (Istria), whilst Petrus de Luna summoned one at Perpignan. The authority of the Council of Pisa was thus doubtful, since it was summoned by the Cardinals contrary to the express wish of the Pope. The Cardinals appealed to the crowned heads to support them in the cause of unity. Henry IV, King of England, replied by sending Walden with some others to Pisa. Determined if possible to bring about union and peace he set himself to work with the utmost zeal to uphold the authority of the Council in the hope that it might effect these desired results. It was contended by his opponents that the Synod had not been lawfully convened and that the Cardinals were fomenting a new schism; that a Council convoked by the Cardinals without the consent of the Pope was null; that if the pontificate of Gregory was doubtful so was their cardinalate; that they could not take steps to elect a new pope, since his election would be doubtful, being the work of doubtful cardinals; and so on. But all these objections were answered to the satisfaction of both parties by the brilliant Doctor, who refuted the supporters of Gregory and Benedict in several discourses delivered before the Emperor Sigismond and the entire assembly of Fathers, and especially in a wonderful work [1] which he wrote in support of his contentions. The great ability, extraordinary and diversified learning, singular prudence, and most fervent zeal, which he displayed on this momentous occasion added immensely to his already great renown. Having succeeded in bringing the assembled Fathers to a mutual understanding they

[1] It begins with the words: "Tempus et responsionem cor sapientis intelligat."

unanimously deposed both Gregory and Benedict, and, in order to secure unity in the supreme authority of the Church, they chose as Pontiff Petrus de Candia, of the Order of Minors, who took the name of Alexander V.

On his return home Walden was elected by the unanimous vote of his confreres to succeed Stephen Patrington as Provincial of England. Time and again, however, he was offered sees, but would never consent to take a mitre, or any other of the countless dignities that were all but forced on him. Even in his own Order and Province his influence was due not so much to his position as to his virtues and example. During his provincialate, apart from his own works, he collected together an enormous number of valuable writings, so that he was responsible in great measure for the fact that the library of White Friars, London, became one of the most renowned in Europe. As Leland has it: "He left to the library of the Carmelites at London as many of the choicest books, fairly writ in Roman characters, as in those days would cost at least 2,000 pieces of gold."

When Henry IV died, the 20th of March, 1413, Walden was chosen to preach the funeral oration. To Henry V he became adviser and confessor, and it was by the counsel of the Carmelite Doctor that he took so determined a stand against the Lollards, although Bale's assertion that he was responsible for the extreme measures adopted by the secular arm is unthinkable. He was appointed by the combined clergy and nobility to the office of Inquisitor General that he might extirpate the heresy and punish the Wiclifiites, in which capacity he, as a matter of course, took a prominent part in the trials of William Taylor in 1410, of Sir John Oldcastle, leader of the threatened rebellion of 1413 and the prototype of Shakespere's Sir John Falstaff; of Sir Henry Talbot, Sir Roger Acton, and about seventy others, one half of whom paid the forfeit of their lives.

It is one thing to convict a man of heresy, however, and quite another to induce the secular authority, whose very existence is at stake, to demand the supreme penalty.

Whilst he was thus engaged in fighting the heretics in England he was chosen by the king to act as his representative at the Council of Constance, in the year 1414. The first reason for the assembling of this Council was to take measures against the Hussites, a branch of the Wicliffites, who, having their origin in England, fled in fear of the suppressive action of the authorities to Bohemia, where, under the leadership of John Huss, they were upsetting all law and order by revolts, sedition, rapine, and force of arms. The second was to finally end the schism, which broke out anew after the Council of Pisa. Arrived at Constantinople he preached publicly before Sigismond and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. It was due to his zeal that, on the 6th of July, 1415, in the eighth Session of the Council, the erroneous teachings of Wicliff and Huss were solemnly condemned: that Gregory XII and John XXIII abdicated; that Otho Columna was elected Pope, the 11th of November, 1417, under the title of Martin V, by which events peace was at last restored to the Church.

The new Pope and the Fathers of the Council, mindful of the Carmelite's achievements and regarding him as a very angel of peace, sent him on an embassy to restore peace to Poland, which had for three years been cruelly tormented by the contending armies of the king and the Teutonic Knights. He was commissioned to try to unite the King of Poland, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, so that they might concert measures for the success of the Papal army against the Hussites. Walden left England on this mission in 1419, and, immediately on his arrival in Poland, arranged meetings at the cele-

brated monasteries of Kernark between the representatives of the king and the knights, the results of these conversations being most satisfactory. In the midst of these secular affairs he never forgot that he was a priest and a friar before all else. He converted the Duke of Lithuania and all his subjects to the Faith, thus winning for himself the proud title of the Apostle of the Lithuanians. To make this work permanent he founded Carmelite monasteries throughout the kingdom, and caused the Duke to be created King by the Pope and the Emperor.

The following incident gives some idea of the high respect in which the English Carmelite was held throughout the Order. On his way back from Poland Conrad Tremonius, a German Carmelite, and one of the most learned Doctors of the University of Bologna, whom Bale describes as " a man of great name, a great writer," left his native land to attach himself to Walden that he might live and die in the company of this unparalleled genius. This is the Conrad who collected the master's letters and writings for publication at a later date. It is to his love and admiration and that of John Luke, a famous Doctor of Oxford, that we are indebted for the preservation of so many of his works from the general ruin.

King Henry, learning that his brother, the Duke of Clarence, whom he had appointed to take charge of his Gallic posessions, had been killed in a fight with the enemy, immediately set out for France, taking Walden with him as a companion, in order to avenge the death of his viceroy and to secure his rights. But, falling seriously ill at his camp in the Bois de Vincennes, he soon realised that his end was at hand. Thomas Walden attended him with the care and love of a father. The king, having received the Last Sacraments, expressed his regret for not having been spared to take up arms against

the heretics, and died in the arms of his most faithful friend and counsellor, on the 30th of August, 1422. Immediately before passing away he begged Walden to look after the spiritual and temporal interests of his baby son and heir, a trust that was faithfully executed.

Henry VI being only a year old when his father died the man of God found some rest from the worries of royal administration. He seized on the opportunity for completing the books against the heretics which he had already begun, and for the performance of certain works of piety which were dear to his heart. Amongst others he was anxious to establish Carmelite nuns in England, so he erected several monasteries for them, the principal foundation being an hermitage at Norwich, in the diocese of Canterbury (*cf.* Part I, Carmelite nuns).

Having finished the first volume of his famous *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae*, consisting of four books dealing with the Godhead of Christ, the Church and Religion, and defending the Apostolic authority of the Holy See, he dedicated it to Pope Martin V, and sent it to Rome in charge of the Carmelite, John Kenningale. So pleased was the Holy Father, and so struck with wonder at the marvellous erudition of the author, that he begged him to write a second similar volume treating of the Sacraments. He had already begun such a work at the request of Henry V, and sent it, in the following year, to Rome by John Taceohalus. The Pope received it with the greatest joy and submitted it to John Cervantes, Cardinal of S. Petrus ad Vincula, and to Bernard, Bishop of Cava, for examination. These scholars accorded the most enthusiastic praise to the work, which was presented to the Pope in the presence of the Cardinals in Consistory. He on the 8th of August, sent letters full of congratulations to the author, together with a Bull condemning Wicliff's books. At the same

time he recommended the writings of Walden to the Church as a useful and salutary study, and asked him to write a third volume on the Sacraments. This was completed in the following year, 1428, that in which the bones of Wicliff were exhumed and publically burned. To this he added a colophon covering the entire work and treating of fasts, indulgences, laws, ecclesiastical immunities, faith, heresies, and many other subjects. This work, however, was never printed. Some believed that the manuscripts were destroyed in the general ruin of the Reformation, whilst others were of opinion that they might have been found in the public libraries of Oxford or Cambridge, in the private collection of Baron de Lumlejo, or in the College of St. Benedict at Cambridge.

About this time the English began to lose ground in France. The nobility thought that the situation might yet be saved and the loyalty of the people revived if Henry VI, then scarcely ten years of age, were crowned in Paris. He was accordingly sent there under the care of Walden in 1431. But the latter, worn out by the exacting and multifarious labours in which his life had been spent, died on the way at Rheims, where, on the 3rd of November, he was laid to rest in the Carmelite church.

Many eminent and reliable writers, Trithemius, Gerbrandus, Aegidius, Julianus Hadbert, and others, speak of him as Blessed. Nicholas Harpsfeld, Archdeacon of Canterbury, even asserts that he was declared Beatus by a Pontifical Decree, whilst John Baptist Lezana writes: "Einsengrenius calls him absolutely a Saint, as do Possevinus, Bzovius, &c." Miracles are said to have been worked at his tomb, and his case was brought under the consideration of the Congregation of Rites in the year 1910, but so far nothing has eventuated.

Meanwhile other great Carmelites were defending the Church against the Lollards whilst, at the same time, wrestling with the wealthy beneficed clergy for the purity of ecclesiastical life. The fight had now reached a stage of great bitterness, and a climax was the result. It must be evident to the impartial reader that the Carmelites were on the side of righteousness. Had their counsel, which was no doubt at times somewhat extreme, prevailed, the world might never have been cursed with a Protestant Reformation. Yet, through the misrepresentations of certain prelates, whose lives were rather worldly than spiritual, these advocates and imitators of the poverty of Christ were made to suffer most cruelly for their fidelity.

John Milverton, a Carmelite of Bristol, Doctor and Professor of Theology at Oxford, was appointed Prior Provincial of the Provinces of England, Ireland, and Scotland by Blessed John Soreth in the General Chapter held at Paris in the year 1456, and continued to hold that office till 1465. He was again elected for the period 1465-82. Towards the end of his first provincialate he was nominated Bishop of Menevia, but he was never consecrated. The reason was that he was one of the most formidable opponents of the too great wealth of the beneficed clergy and hierarchy, and he refused the dignity fearing that his hands might be tied by the acceptance of a mitre. Being a man of great integrity, as this incident proves, he made no distinction where the honour of the Church, the purity of ecclesiastical life, and the good of religion were concerned. He might so easily have sold his soul and escaped the sufferings that his sense of right brought upon him. But he clearly foresaw the peril that threatened and refused the bribe. Strange to say, one of the first to feel the brunt of his impartial denunciation was another Carmelite who had been raised to the episcopacy—Reginald Pecock, who

finds a protagonist in Dr. Edwin Burton,[1] and an historian in the Dictionary of National Biography, to which sources we owe many of the particulars here given.

Reginald Pecock was born in North Wales about the year 1395, and was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1417. As professor of Exeter College he gained a wide reputation for learning and scholarship. He was ordained to the priesthood on the 8th of March, 1421, and took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity four years later, about which time he left the university for the court, where he won favour with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. In 1431 he was appointed master of Whittington College, London, and rector of St. Michael's-in-Riola. The activity of the London Lollards drew him into the controversy against them, and, about this time he wrote *The Book or Rule of Christian Religion*[2] and *Donet*,[3] an introduction to Christian Doctrine, in the form of a dialogue between father and son, which was published in 1440. This work is of great importance in view of the subsequent history of the author. Therein he complains that previous works of his had been copied and spread abroad without his consent, and without his corrections. Fearful lest any of the opinions expressed in these writings should be contrary to Catholic doctrine he offered to retract, should the Church demand it, any false conclusions they might contain. We have here the key to the difficulties with which his life was beset. He was ever defending the Faith to the best of his ability and never wished to put himself in opposition to the Church's authority, but he had an unhappy way of expressing himself, and left himself open to serious

[1] Reginald Pecock, *Cath. Encycl.*
[2] The MS. was purchased by Sir John Phillipps.
[3] The MS. is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

charges. That he was considered perfectly orthodox so far is evident from the fact that in 1444 he was made Bishop of St. Asaph by Papal provision dated the 22nd of April, and on the 14th of June the same year he was consecrated by Archbishop Stafford. At the same time he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford without any academic act.

Novel doctrines were becoming fashionable, and the Church's polemicists were ever on the alert to crush them in their very conception. The Mendicant Orders were particularly alive to the danger, and their learned Doctors were kept busy. They had thus acquired numerous enemies. Pecock now took his stand with these. In 1447 he preached a contentious sermon at St. Paul's Cross, which, under the guise of defending the bishops, was really an attack on the Mendicants, and especially the Carmelites. It also brought him trouble from a diametrically opposite quarter. His defence of the appointment of bishops by papal provision and of the paying of the " first fruits " offended the Lollards. His chief arguments, however, were a defence of the bishops for neglecting the duty of preaching and an excuse for their absenting themselves from their dioceses. He initiated a system of propaganda by distributing copies of his sermon among his friends, sending a copy, entitled the *Abbreviatio Reginaldi Pecock*, to Archbishop Stafford also. " Such an endeavour," says the *Dictionary of National Biography*, " to stifle the growing agitation against ecclesiastical abuses only stimulated the activity of the agitators. Dr. William Millington, provost of King's College, Cambridge, denounced Pecock's teaching, from St. Paul's Cross, as a national danger (Gascoigne, p. 44). His enemies in the universities, and especially among the four orders of friars, made a fruitless appeal to Archbishop Stafford, and afterwards to Archbishop John Kemp, to proceed against

him. Privately Pecock seems to have modified his statements. The bishops were exempt, he explained, not from the duty of expounding the scripture after the manner of the fathers, but from preaching after the modern fashion of the friars. In a letter to the Franciscan, Dr. Goddard, he denounced the friars as 'pulpit-bawlers.'" [1] In view of the grounds on which he was finally condemned it is important to note that the copies of his sermon, as well as others of his works to be mentioned later, were written, not through the ordinary medium of the Church, the Latin language, but in English, a most unusual procedure in these days.

His friendship with William de la Pole, the unpopular first Duke of Suffolk, did not serve to smooth matters for him. The Duke, immediately before his assassination, procured the translation of his favourite to the more opulent see of Chichester, and soon after, he was, through the influence of his patron, enrolled a privy councillor, his name appearing as such from May, 1454, to January, 1457. In this capacity he was one of the signatories to the appointment of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, as Protector during the illness of King Henry VI, thus joining his fortunes to those of the falling House of Lancaster.

In 1454 there appeared from his pen *The Follower to the Donet*,[2] and about 1455 his best known and most unfortunate work, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*. This work also is in English.

"In the prologue," continues the Dictionary (loc. cit.), "Pecock proposes to consider eleven points of objection advanced by the Lollards against the clergy. These are: 1, the use of images; 2, pilgrimages; 3, clerical property in land; 4, inequality of rank among the clergy; 5, the lawfulness of papal and episcopal

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XV, p. 643.
[2] The MS. is preserved in the British Museum.

statutes; 6, the religious orders; 7, the invocation of saints and priestly intercession; 8, the rich adornments of churches; 9, the sacraments, especially that of the altar; 10, the taking of oaths; 11, the upholding of the lawfulness of war and capital punishment. . . .

" The ' Repressor ' is a monument of fifteenth-century English, clear and even pointed in style, forcible in thought. The argument is logical and subtly critical, informed by wide, if not deep, learning. On the other hand, in the detailed application of his principles Pecock often fails to carry conviction, and his tendency to casuistry irritates the modern reader. He sets forth, however, the views of his opponents so clearly as to render his book an invaluable record of the theological opinions of his time."

About a year later his *Book of Faith* appeared in English.[1] Then came the *Provoker*. These works are said to have contained his most serious errors, and John Milverton, who had contested every inch of debatable ground with him, accused him of heresy in his work *Contra Reginaldum Pecock*. Godwin, in his Commentary on the bishops of England, gives a summary of these errors wherein he says that he taught 1, that no one was bound to obey the Roman Church in everything; 2, that it was not necessary for salvation to believe that the Body of Christ was in the Eucharist; 3, that the Universal Church could err in teaching doctrines of faith. Other charges were that he set the natural law above the Scriptures and the Sacraments; that he disregarded the authority of SS. Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Pope Gregory; and that he had " written on great matters in English." Archbishop Bouchier summoned Pecock and his accusers to appear before him on the 11th of November, 1457. The result of the enquiry was that the committee of theologians

[1] MS. preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge.

issued an adverse report. The next day he appeared before the king in council, when he was expelled from the privy council. On the 28th he was convicted of heresy and was given his choice between complete and public recantation of his errors and being surrendered to the secular arm, which was equivalent to being burned at the stake. The unfortunate man abjured, first privately, then in public at St. Paul's Cross on the 4th of December in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, when fourteen of his books were burnt, and every contumely was heaped on him by the excited mob. It is open to question whether he ever taught most of the errors of which he was accused on this occasion. Dr. Burton (loc. cit.) claims that the entire enquiry was illegal according to Canon Law, which required the authority of the Holy See. As a matter of fact Pecock immediately appealed to that authority. Almost at the same time John Milverton sent a hostile version of the whole proceedings and trial. Yet Pope Callistus III sent back Bulls for the reinstatement of the accused, which were equivalent to a complete acquittal and reversion of the decision of the Archbishop's court. Bouchier appealed to the king, begging him to dispatch an ambassador to Rome to obtain the revocation of the Bulls. The king appointed a commission of enquiry, " and on receiving its report (17th Sept., 1458), sent a deputation to Pecock offering him a pension if he would resign his bishopric, and threatening the uttermost rigour of the law should he refuse." (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In the meanwhile Pope Callistus died and his successor, Pius II, being not fully informed of the case, ordered a new trial and declared that, in the event of a conviction, Pecock was to be either sent to Rome for punishment or publicly degraded in England. As there is no evidence of either of these steps having been taken it seems probable that the brief was never acted upon.

But Pecock was sent to Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire, where he was kept in close confinement, being restricted to one room, denied the use of any books except a missal, a breviary, and a bible, and even writing materials. Though the incriminated bishop, under threat of burning at the stake, had made a confession and withdrawn the works which were condemned as unsound, he was kept a prisoner by Archbishop Bouchier till his death. As to the manner of his death nothing is known definitely. Some maintain that he died a natural death, others, that he was " privily made away," others still, that he was allowed to perish of cold.

In considering this whole question of Pecock's culpability or otherwise it must be remembered that most likely a biassed opinion has come down to us. His judges, the Yorkist lords, now in power, were his bitter enemies because of his friendship with the Duke of Suffolk and his adherence to the House of Lancaster. It must also be kept in mind that he refused to answer for any works issued by him more than three years before, since they had been circulated privately, without his consent, and without his final corrections; that he vainly claimed to be tried by a committee of his peers in scholastic disputation; that he never admitted that the Church, though supposed fallible, could be proved to have erred in matters of faith and wrote (Book of Faith) that " if thou canst not prove clearly and indubitably that the Church errs . . . . thou art in damnation to hold against the Church "; that it was only under the awful threat of being burnt alive that he retracted and delivered up his works to be burnt; that he had spent the greater part of his life in defending the orthodox doctrines of the Church, though his arguments were sometimes dubious; that he was reinstated by the Pope who had been in a position to examine the cases

for and against; and that he was condemned by a Pope who, probably, relied on the accused's own retraction.

That he was guilty of material heresy at least seems to be beyond doubt. That he was a formal heretic is very questionable. And as he made a full and ample retraction, and there is no evidence that he ever relapsed, his long imprisonment and miserable death would seem to exalt him to the martyr's crown rather than cast over his memory the obloquy of the outcast.

That he pursued him relentlessly on account of his alleged heresy is no reflection on the learned Carmelite Provincial, who had no further part in his painful end. It was an age in which the Church was threatened on all sides by loose thinkers who loved to air novel opinions. The champions of orthodoxy were on the defensive. Besides, Milverton attacked him, not only as a heretic, but also as a defender of the ecclesiastical abuses of the times. This was the reason why a number of the prelates dogged him with an acrimonious persecution. They were now on the look out for anything that might serve to injure him and the Order of which he was such an ornament, and the indiscretions, as some have called them, of one of his subjects, Henry Parker, gave them the opportunity they sought.

This brilliant young Carmelite friar, Doctor of Theology of Cambridge, the Aristarchus of his day, a celebrated preacher and a noted lover of evangelical poverty, was the author of the famous dialogue entitled *Dives et Pauper*, the most popular of the fifteenth-century manuals of religious instruction. To the present day it plays an important part in refuting the calumny that the Peasants' Revolt was due to the universal neglect by the clergy of the day, both secular and regular, of their pastoral duties, especially in regard to the instruction of the people by catechetical classes and preaching. So greatly was the importance of this duty

appreciated by the religious orders, and the Carmelites for whom he speaks especially, that it was given precedence, in a sense, over the Mass. Thus the people are exhorted in the manual to " keep the preachings rather than the Mass, if perchance they may not hear both." " By preaching," writes the author of the manual, " folks are stirred to contrition and to forsake sin and the fiend, and to love God and goodness. . . By the Mass they are not so; but if they come to Mass in sin they go away in sin, and shrews they come and shrews they wend away. . . . . Both are good, but the preaching of God's word ought to be more discharged and more desired than the hearing of Mass." And Thomas J. Shahan writes :[1] " In the very popular fifteenth-century religious manual already referred to, the ' Dives et Pauper,' the devotion to the crucifix and especially the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, known as ' the Creeping to the Cross,' is explained with admirable correctness and terseness. Few modern English books of devotion can boast a language so chaste and idiomatic, or so much clearness and conciseness of statement, or so much unction and pathos. And are not the following lines a noble paraphrase of the great mediaeval hymn to the dolors of Jesus Christ Crucified, notably the ' Salve Caput Cruentatum '?

" ' When thou seest the image of the crucifix think of Him that died on the cross for thy sins and thy sake, and thank Him for His endless charity that He should suffer so much for thee. See in images how His head was crowned with a garland of thorns till the blood burst out on every side, to destroy the great sin of pride which is most manifested in the heads of men and women. Behold and make an end to thy pride. See in the image how his arms were spread abroad and

[1] *The Middle Ages*, T. J. Shahan, S.T.D., J.U.L.

drawn up on the tree till the veins and sinews cracked; and how His hands were nailed to the cross and streamed with blood, to destroy the sin that Adam and Eve did with their hands when they took the apple against God's prohibition. Also He suffered to wash away the sin of the wicked deeds and the wicked works done by the hands of men and women. Behold and make an end of thy wicked works. See how His side was opened and His heart cloven in two by the sharp spear; and how it shed blood and water to show that if He had more blood in His body, more He would have given for men's love. He shed His blood to ransom our souls and water to wash us from our sins.' "

In a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross he made an invidious comparison between the beneficed clergy and the friars as followers of Christ's poverty. William Ive, Master of Whittington College, entered the lists as the protagonist of the secular clergy, and the superiors of the Order found themselves called upon to defend it against his venemous attacks, a task which the Provincial undertook immediately. Richard, Bishop of London, incensed at Milverton's strictures on the manner of living of the bishops, excommunicated him, and, with the consent of some brother prelates, imprisoned him together with Harry Parker and Thomas Holden in October, 1464. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the inimical Master of Whittington at St. Paul's Cross. Parker, unlike his sturdier superior, abjured almost immediately, and, to gain his liberty, was mean spirited enough to say that his sole object had been to draw attention to his convent for its pecuniary advantage. At least this statement has been made by one or two historians. We have been unable to verify it.

On his release the Provincial, confident of the righteousness of his case, went direct to Rome to plead

his cause before Paul II, but the pope, having accepted the accusations of the bishops which they had forwarded whilst they held him in confinement, refused him a hearing and imprisoned him in the Castello di San Angelo till his case should be tried. There he was allowed to languish for three years, as he refused to retract. At last a commission of seven of the most eminent and most learned Cardinals was appointed to examine the charges preferred against him, the result being that he was fully exonerated and honourably released.

The answer of his fellow-Carmelites to the unwarranted and harsh treatment meted out to him by the bishops was to elect him as Provincial. This office he retained during his whole term of imprisonment in England and Rome, and up to four years before his death, which occurred at the London monastery on the 30th of January, 1486.

On the representations, or misrepresentations, of the bishops, the Pope had asked the Archbishop of Canterbury, by letter dated June, 1465, to forward to him detailed accounts of the discussions which followed Parker's sermon. He asked what had been preached against the Faith and desired to have a specimen of the sermons, that the heretical pravity might be punished with "worthy severity." Needless to say, the report of the Archbishop, in the circumstances, favoured the Carmelites as little as possible. Yet it is an interesting document, and gives to the impartial reader a fair idea of the happenings that brought so much suffering to the friars involved. We give Turner's translation of Bale's transcript:[1]

"In the middle of October, 1464, a young Carmelite, Henry Parker, publicly taught at St. Paul's, that Christ lived as one of the poor, in a state of mendicity;

[1] *History of England During the Middle Ages*, Vol. II, Book III, p. 506. Bale's Transcript, Cotton Library, Titus, 10, p. 185-187.

that the mendicant was, therefore, the most perfect state of the militant Church; and that the spiritual part of the Church ought to have no property, but to live on pure alms.

"To repel the effect of these opinions, a doctor appeared in the same pulpit on behalf of the establishment on the following Sunday, and with moderation and good temper preached a sermon, contradicting Parker's positions. But some little time afterwards, another Carmelite, Thomas Holden, a doctor of divinity, and head of his convent, declared in the same place on the second Sunday in Advent, that he could not permit the doctrines of his brother and scholar, which had been reprobated, to remain undefended; and therefore he went at great length into the writings of the Apostles and Fathers, to prove that the Saviour had lived on public benevolence.

"He rested himself on this article because the other doctrines followed immediately from it; and he declared that it should be discussed again in his schools on the following Friday. On this day, other persons resumed the subject, and maintained that it was true and Catholic tenet. On the following Sunday, they pursued their blow, and decided in the same schools, that Christ, while in His human nature, had chosen to be neither king nor lord, but to live poor like a beggar, till He arose from the dead.

"The effect of these exertions was so great, the Archbishop adds, that the faith of many began to vacillate; and to doubt about the propriety of a possessioned church, to its great danger.

"Roused both by the obvious intention of such sermons and by the visible peril, a learned doctor was selected to discuss at length on the ensuing sabbath, in what catholic sense our Saviour's mendicity was to be understood; and to show, that neither he nor his

apostles had begged alms, as the mendicant orders were accustomed to do. His eloquence appeased the people; but on the fourth Advent Sunday, the Carmelites were reinforced by a Dominican friar, who preached in confirmation of all the dreaded doctrines, and informed the people that after dinner, if they chose to attend at the Carmelite chapel, they would hear a more full discourse on the same topics from a venerable doctor. Papers were then affixed on the doors of the church, to give further notice of this intended harangue. Thus the question, as to the property of the clergy, was made a regular battle between them and the mendicant orders.

"In the afternoon, the people flocked with eagerness to the convent of the Carmelites: and there, the provincial of the order himself, John Milverton, was seen to ascend the pulpit. He said he had heard that one of his brethren had been defamed by the charge of error and blasphemy. He declared that he had diligently examined the question, and was satisfied that his brother was entirely guiltless, as he had uttered neither a blasphemous nor a vain opinion; and to convince them that he had preached nothing wrong, he would himself confirm all that had been said, from the authority of Scripture, and from the writings of the fathers.

"He quoted largely for this purpose, and strove to persuade his audience that Christ was so far mendicant, as to have no right or title to anything, but what he received from human bounty. His arguments, the prelate intimates to have been slender and scandalous, but to have been uttered with such gravity of countenance, such an ardent spirit, and such elaborate circumstances, that he disturbed very much the minds of his auditors, and the unlearned vulgar; always ready, he adds, to take the worst part.

"A great tumult arose among the people; and

alarming imaginations began to be indulged. 'We know,' says the Archbishop, 'that some thought, and we heard some even dared to say, If he were so poor, why should his followers, the pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates, have so many possessions, and such great property? Priests ought not to take tithes nor oblations, but as we please to give them, and ought to live on pure alms only.' 'Some,' he subjoins, 'were carried to that pitch of infamy, as not to fear to say that the possessioned church had apostatized from the very time it became endowed; and that it was a duty that would be grateful to God, to take from the prelates their riches and ample possessions, which they had held in contradiction to the example of their Lord and His apostles.' The venom so spread, that they could scarcely be kept from a public insurrection.

"The prelate expresses his opinion, that the sword of the prince was more wanted than the authority of the Church; that these errors had become so deeply rooted in the minds of the hearers, that they could not be plucked out; that he had caused the two Carmelites to be excommunicated, and he solicited the papal assistance. This was granted and used; ecclesiastical censures were issued with all their severities; some of the attacked despised them; but others were terrified and abjured. Milverton went to Rome, to complain to the Pope of the injuries brought on his Order; but the archbishop pursued him with a letter to the pontiff, which had the effect of causing him to be imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo. The Pope, in the enquiry, which occasioned the narrative, stated that such heretical pravity must be amputated in its beginnings, and therefore urged the metropolitan to admonish the people to fly from the deadly poison.[1] Milverton was kept above

[1] The letter of Paul II is dated June, 1465.

two years in his dungeon; he long resisted the tyranny that wounded him: but his spirit was subdued at last, and then he was sent back with the Pope's epistle, stating, that he had returned to his saner senses; and calling him a beloved son." [1]

The statement that his release was due to a broken spirit is quite untrue. As we have already written, Milverton's release was the consequence of a complete exoneration by the court of seven cardinals appointed to try his case.

The jealous adversaries of the mendicants had at last gained a victory, and the popularity of the Carmelites, which had been very great, received a severe blow. After this episode they withdrew as far as possible from public life, and were contented with a comparative obscurity.

The Order, however, continued to be regarded with favour by the upper classes of the community, who were better able to appreciate their good intentions and less likely to forget their splendid services to the Church and State. Amongst the benefactors of the White Friars of this date we find Margaret Countess of Kent, the Marquis of Berkeley, and the king.

The mediæval guilds were corporations of the various arts and crafts. Their members were not workmen in the present-day acceptance of the word, but each was a highly skilled artist in his own line, trained not merely in the manual labour of his craft but in every branch of it, no matter how intellectual. They were the "masters" of the craft in the truest sense. There was an intensely religious side to the life of each corporation, which was directed by a very strict code of morals. Many of the guilds had their own chapel, and all retained a priest to say Mass daily for their members. Each was under the protection of God, Our Lady, or

[1] The epistle to Milverton is dated the 22nd of December, 1468.

some patron saint, and it assembled each year on the feast of the patron for a solemn service, to elect officers for the ensuing year, and to transact any special business. On the 2nd of March, 1496-7, the Fellowships of the Pinners and Wiremongers approached the Mayor and Aldermen of London to beg that the two corporations should be united under one heading, and that the ordinances of the new society should be approved by them. Amongst these was a rule: "That it shall be lawful for the said Umpire (chairman), Wardens, and Fellowship, to have and keep their light within the White Friars in Fleet Street . . . . there to burn in honour of God, Our Lady Blessed Mary, St. James, and St. Clement. Also to have Mass celebrated on the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, and, on the morning after the feast to elect and choose their Umpire and Wardens for the next year ensuing. The said light and Mass to be maintained only in White Friars, and not elsewhere without the permission of the Mayor and Aldermen." Their request was granted. Pope St. Clement, having suffered martyrdom by drowning with an anchor attached to his neck, had been chosen patron of the metal-workers. The Currier's Company also always kept their light burning in the White Friars—in the choir.

The good repute of the London Carmelites was such that the nobles and people of distinction were most anxious to be buried in their church, which, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, sheltered the remains of a great number. Amongst the tombs might be mentioned those of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury and King of Man, killed in a tournament at Windsor in the year 1343; John Bacon, the Carmelite "Doctor Resolutus"; Sir John Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham (d. 1398); the Countess of Athole; John, Lord Gray; Lord Vesey; in the Lady Chapel, Sir John Paston, Sir

Robert Knolles (d. 1407); Robert Mascall, Carmelite Bishop of Hereford (d. 1416); Stephen Patrington, Confessor of Henry IV, and Carmelite Bishop of St. David's and Chichester (d. 1417); and about sixty other notables. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, left to the altar of Our Lady of Mount Carmel his old white vestment of cloth of gold called Rakamas, with all belonging to it, and fifteen marks of silver in honour of the fifteen Joys of Our Lady. His will continues: "That if I die near London, I will and devise that the first night that my body shall be brought to London, that it be carried to the Carmelite Friars in Fleet Street for that night to have its exequies, and on the morrow high mass of requiem." [1]

The monastery must have been well known to Shakespeare, who mentions it in *King Richard the Third*, where the Duke of Gloucester commands the body of murdered Henry to be borne away:

> GLOUCESTER. Sirs, take up the corse.
> GENTLEMEN. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?
> GLOUCESTER. No, to White Friars; there attend my coming.

From the time of Constantine certain churches were set apart in various countries in which a fugitive from justice might take refuge and be protected from the ordinary operation of the law. The intention was to save the unfortunate from its too hasty execution, or the vengeance of the mob. In England the Right of Sanctuary held for the space of forty days, except in the cases of treason and sacrilege. If within that time the offender repented and consented to banishment he escaped any further punishment. Otherwise the law

[1] *Royal Wills*, Nichol, p. 145

took its course. It required a papal bull to establish the privilege; but as a matter of fact the right of Sanctuary was frequently granted by the king, and as this sufficed to give the place full exemption from temporal courts its effects were to all intents the same as the papal privilege.

White Friars, London, had the Right of Sanctuary, and, for certain reasons, it became the most famed place of refuge. The privilege was supposed to cover treasure also, and much of it was, as a matter of fact, stored there. But, on the 8th of February, 1305, the Sanctuary of White Friars was violated by robbers, who, having killed one of the friars and wounded others, carried off treasure to the value of three hundred marks which had been stored there for safety by a certain knight. The thieves had the aid and connivance of one Friar Judas (probably a pseudonym conferred on him after the event). "They bound in an atrocious way," says an old chronicler, "the hands of the prior and of several of the friars, and one they killed, and then took their departure. Judas also went with them, but soon after he had a halter put round his neck and was hanged."

The Sanctuary, which remained even after the suppression of the monastery, caused White Friars to become, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, a notorious place of refuge for the outcasts of society. It was nicknamed "Alsatia," a name that is first found in Shadwell's play, *The Squire of Alsatia*. Sir Walter Scott has also helped to impart a special interest to the district through its introduction into his famous novel, *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Ben Johnson, in his *Volpone*, calls it "White Friars Nation." Another literary connection is found in the fact that James Shirley, the poet, once conducted a grammar-school there.

The immunity of these privileged places was much curtailed by a statute of Henry VIII. Nevertheless, it

was not till the reign of William III, in the Parliament of 1697, that a bill was introduced abolishing the privileges of White Friars. Dugdale tells us that this was accomplished " by the Act of the 8th and 9th of William the Third passed for the relief of creditors in cases of escapes, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. It is to be observed, however, that such abuses did not arise from any late allowed exception. Holmes, the keeper of the Records in the Tower, transmitted to Stype an extract from the Clause Roll of the 20th of Edw. III, from which it appears that both men and women of bad repute had, for a considerable time, made their abode so close to the White Friars, that the holy fathers could not celebrate divine service in the church, in consequence of the continual clamours and outcries by which the district was disturbed; and the Mayor and Aldermen of London were ordered, in the king's name, for the tranquility of the prior and brethren, to remove the nuisance." Macaulay writes :[1] " The benchers of the Inner Temple could bear the scandal and the annoyance no longer. They ordered the gate leading into Whitefriars to be bricked up. The Alsatians mustered in great force, attacked the workmen, killed one of them, pulled down the wall, knocked down the sheriff who came to keep the peace, and carried off his gold chain which, no doubt, was soon in the melting-pot. The tumult was not suppressed till a company of Foot Guards arrived. This riot excited general indignation. The city, indignant at the outrage done to the sheriff, cried loudly for justice. Yet, so difficult was it to execute any process in the dens of Whitefriars, that near two years elapsed before a single ringleader was apprehended."

Besides those mentioned in the text there was a great

[1] *History of England*, Vol. II, p. 616.

number of friars attached to the London monastery who were famous for their learning and piety. Space does not allow of even a brief sketch of each, so we refer our readers to the pages of the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*.

There is one other political association with White Friars of great importance, for which we could not find a place in the course of our narrative.

At the height of the trouble between the rival houses of York and Lancaster Parliament met, in the year 1457, the king having recovered. The Duke of York's commission as Protector was formally revoked. Two years of comparative peace followed, during which, however, the friends of the great lords slain at the battle of St. Alban's were preparing to crush York. Henry sought to bring about peace between the rival parties. By mutual agreement they repaired to London. The royalists were lodged without, the Yorkists within, the walls. "The Duke," writes Lingard, "assembled his partisans every morning at the Black Friars: their resolves were communicated by the primate and other prelates to the royalists, who met at the White Friars every afternoon." The result of these deliberations was an apparent peace, but the history of the subsequent happenings shows how futile in fact they were.

CHAPTER X

WHITE FRIARS—CAMBRIDGE

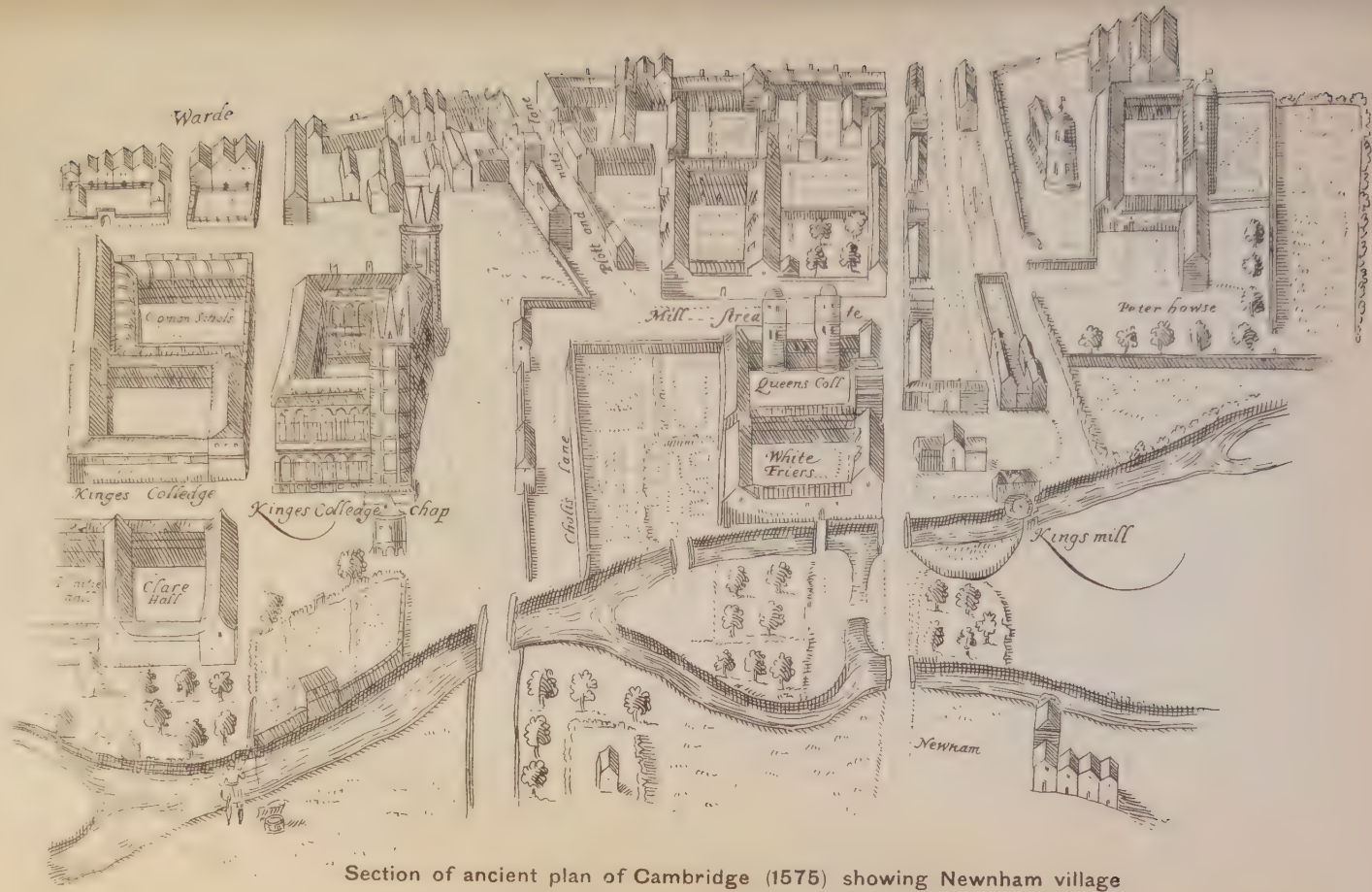
" The fathers are in dust, yet live to God :
So says the Truth; as if the motionless clay
Still held the seeds of life beneath the sod,
Smouldering and struggling till the Judgment-day.

" And hence we learn with reverence to esteem
Of these frail houses, though the grave confines :
Sophist may urge his cunning tests, and deem
That they are earth;—but they are heavenly shrines."

(*Lyra Apostolica.* Trans. B. H. Kennedy.)

The Carmelites were the first of the Mendicants to settle in or about Cambridge. Their first house was not in the town itself, but at the village of Chesterton, situated to the north-west, about a mile from the northern boundary. We have not been able to place the exact date of this foundation. All we know is that it was called " the Carmel," and that the monks dwelt there in individual cells.[1] This fact would point to a very early origin, as the hermetical rule was abandoned shortly after the immigration from Palestine in the year 1240. In 1249 they moved nearer to the city and took up their residence at the village of Newnham, where Michael Malherbe gave them a habitation.[2] In the Hundred Rolls[3] we read : " The Brethren of Mt. Carmel had a site at Newnham where they dwelt and

[1] *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle.*
[2] *Idem.* Also, *The History of Queens' College*, W. G. Searle, M.A. (1867).
[3] II, 360.



Section of ancient plan of Cambridge (1575) showing Newnham village
White Friars, Queen's and King's Colleges.

where they founded their church, part of which site they had of Michael Malherbe as a perpetual alms, and the other part by purchase and by the gifts of several persons, comprising in all more than three acres." And in the Barnwell Chartulary: "Here they made many cells, a church, a cloister, a dormitory, and the necessary offices sufficiently constructed, and here they dwelt for forty years." The village of Newnham is situated at the south-west corner of Cambridge, on the opposite side of the river Granta, and is approached from the "Backs" of the Colleges. It is not more than ten minutes' walk from the centre of the town, and is one of the most beautiful spots in an exquisite landscape. In the thirteenth century Cambridge must have been all but an ideal retreat. There is something essentially peaceful in the stretches of flat country, with not a hillock in view. The very sluggishness of the narrow and winding river Cam, with its branch, the Granta, and its many streamlets, overhung by a charming variety of foliage and crossed by many rustic bridges, retains an old-world atmosphere that is exceedingly picturesque and romantic. If ever poet deserved forgiveness for rhapsodising over landscape that pardon must be extended generously to the great army of Cambridge poets. For if the ordinary visitor is perforce charmed by all that meets the eye from the sites of the two Carmelite monasteries, Newnham and Queens',· to the famed "Byron's Pool," it must have been an inspiration, indeed, to Chaucer, Spencer, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, Dryden, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson, Fitzgerald and Rupert Brooke.

"There is a pleasure in the pathless woods;
There is a rapture on the lonely shore;
There is society where none intrudes,
By the deep sea, and music in its roar."

Indeed, as one wanders along the Backs in the direction of the Newnham one almost expects to surprise among the trees some old monastic ruin, the relics of some mendicant friary. It was in such places that the religious solitaries loved to work and pray. None knew better than they how to select sites where " the art of God " calmed the soul in meditative thoughts and inspired

" All sweet sensations, all ennobling thoughts,
All adoration of the God in nature,
All lovely and all honourable things,
Whatever makes this mortal spirit feel
The joy and greatness of its future being."

Before proceeding further we consider that a few words on the name " Cambridge " may not be out of place, as it is confusing at first to find the Latinised form " Cantabrigiensis " applied, in mediæval documents and on ancient maps, to this town. The original name of the entire river, bounding the town on its west and north sides, was " the Granta." The town, called after the river, was Grantabridge. This, in the course of time, was softened to Cantabridge, and, finally, became Cambridge. Apparently in ignorance of the respective origins of the names, the upper end of the river was later called after Cambridge and became " the Cam."

By writ directed to the mayor and bailiffs of Cambridge, tested the 14th of July, 1270,[1] King Henry III required them to pay to the Carmelite friars out of the farm of the town the sum of 52*s.*, being the king's gift for their expenses.

In the Hundred Rolls of 1279[2] we read of the next transference of the community. This is part of the

[1] Rot. Lib. 54 Hen. III. MS. Baker XXV. 20.
[2] II, 360b, 1812-18 fol.

survey of Cambridge drawn up by certain jurors for the information of the Court of Exchequer:

"The friars only remained about 40 years in Newnham. In 1290 (18 Edw. I) they petitioned the parliament that William de Hamilton might give them a house which he had in the town of Cambridge, where they might build their habitation anew, because, says the Parliamentary Roll, they then dwelt without the the town, viz., at Newnham, where they suffered in the winter, many and great inconveniences, on account of the inundation of the waters, so that scholars could not go to town to obtain their victuals. On this petition an inquisition was awarded, and shortly after they erected a new house in the parish of St. John, Milne Street, where several houses were destroyed to make way for their buildings. . . . . In 1292 they removed thither, and there remained till the dissolution of religious houses. King Edward I, Sir Guy de Mortimer, and Thomas de Hertford were great benefactors to them."

But their advent was resented by the community of Barnwell Priory because of the expected loss to them in the matter of divided revenues, the new house being situated in their parish of St. John Baptist. In a chapter held at the Priory on the 22nd of November, 1291, Simon, the prior, appointed Canon John de Gretton, almoner, to be their proxy in the dispute. It was alleged that Barnwell lost in revenue, since houses formerly occupied by parishioners from whom they received tithes had either been destroyed or were now in possession of the friars, with a resultant loss to the income of the Priory. The matter was referred to William of Louth, Bishop of Ely, who appointed a court to try the case. The judgment of the court was that the Carmelites should make good this deficit by remitting 14*s.* annually to the community of Barnwell

out of the 20*s.* which they had been accustomed to receive from the Prior. Immediately one John Porthos, a burgess of Cambridge, came to the aid of the friars and offered to contribute one mark for ever to cover this expense. The remainder was paid by the Carmelites. Thus was the matter composed between the contending parties.

As soon as the Carmelites had settled down they began to build a monastery and church.

Elsewhere (c. v) we have given an account of a happening of supreme importance in Carmelite history. This was the miraculous vision of Our Blessed Lady vouchsafed to St. Simon Stock, when she, in her maternal love, gave him the Holy Scapular as the guerdon of her patronage of the Carmelite Order, of its perpetuity, and of her personal protection in life and in death, of all who should faithfully wear her livery. As this took place at Cambridge on the 16th of July, 1251, the vision must have occurred in Michael Malherbe's old foundation at Newnham.

To perpetuate the memory of this remarkable event and to extend to all the faithful an opportunity of sharing in the privilege involved in the promise made by the Blessed Virgin on that occasion, St. Simon originated the Carmelite Confraternity, which was soon established in many of the places where the Carmelites had houses. Such a confraternity was set up at an early date in Cambridge. We do not know the exact date of its foundation in that university town, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that there, where the vision took place, would have been the first of all where enthusiasm would have inspired the piously disposed to join such a fraternity. The members here included both sexes and embraced every class. Their first aim was to participate in the spiritual privilege associated with the wearing of the scapular and to

further devotion to the Mother of God under the title of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. But they also devoted themselves to their own sanctification by prayers and mortifications, and to the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, especially within the corporate body of "confratres" and "consorores."

In a very interesting and most important paper which Father J. P. Rushe, O.D.C., read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on the 30th of October, 1911, he, eruditely, endeavoured to identify—and it seems to us that he did so successfully—the ancient St. Mary's Gild which was, according to Robert Masters,[1] "in being in the beginning of Edward the First's reign," with the Cambridge Carmelite Confraternity. The Gild Records preserved in the Muniment-room of Corpus Christi College, as far as St. Mary's Gild is concerned, begin with the year 1300. But Father Rushe is satisfied, with Masters, of a much earlier origin, viz., 1285 or even previous to that date. In the course of his paper he founds his identification on the Records, the Register of St. Mary's Gild, and sigillography.

Apart altogether from the importance to the Carmelite Order of such an identification it has a very special interest for Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which owes its origin to the co-operation of St. Mary's Gild with the Gild of Corpus Christi in founding and endowing a College within the university, that college being Corpus Christi itself.

Our authority carries the argument a step further and founds his conclusion on some very important original manuscripts. He is convinced that Corpus Christi College was founded and endowed by the Carmelite Confraternity (of which St. Mary's Gild was a branch) for the higher education of the young White Friars

[1] *The History of the College of Corpus Christi and the B. Virgin Mary* (1753).

who should be called upon in after life to undertake the spiritual guidance of souls, and, in particular, the souls of the countless members, influential and otherwise, of the great fraternity dependant on their Order.

The whole argument is closely reasoned, the conclusions logical, the proof well-founded and convincing, the issue of considerable historical importance. The paper is, however, too long and involved to insert here, so we must refer those interested to the original, which is to be found in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (No. lxi, 1912).

The site of the old town monastery is close by the boundary wall of King's College on the one side and Queens' Lane on the other. The gate that leads from King's College into Queens' Lane marks the site of the old gate which was known as late as Cole's time as the "Friars' Gate." To a person standing in Queens' Lane facing this gate the situation is as follows:

On his right-hand side is Catharine's College; on his left, Queens' College. About twenty paces from the gate there is an entrance to Queens' grounds. Immediately inside the entrance there is a new pile of residential buildings, running parallel with the Chapel, on the north side of the lawn. These were erected in 1886 from the design of W. M. Fawcett, M.A., architect, and occupy the exact site of the old monastery. They are still known as the "Friars' Building." The site was sold to the College at the dissolution. Or, to approach it in the more usual way. You enter the main gate, at the entrance to Queens' Lane, which leads to the principal court. Immediately opposite is a gate leading to the Cloister Court. On the right-hand side of this there is another gate, over which is a large and most interesting sun-dial bearing the signs of the Zodiac, often ascribed to Sir Isaac Newton, but wrongly. Passing through this gate the New Chapel, built by

CATHARINE HALL
Showing the original Friars' Gate in the distance

Messrs. Bodley and Garner in 1891, faces you on the opposite side of the Walnut-Tree Court. Going round the end of the Chapel you enter another court on the far side of which, running parallel with the Chapel, is the " Friars' Building."

Cambridge, like Oxford, was one of the very earliest of the universities, and is placed by the great historian of the European universities, Father Denifle, O.P., among the sixteen which were created exclusively by Papal diploma. The fact that Cambridge does not figure in the religious and secular history of these days to the same extent as Oxford and London will be readily understood when it is remembered that it consisted merely of a number of separate " hostels " which were only very loosely united under a central examining body. This condition of things continued up to the time of the foundation of the first colleges, and it was only in the year 1571-2, under Queen Elizabeth, that the university attained a strictly corporate existence. Peterhouse, the first college within the university of Cambridge, was founded by the Benedictine Hugh Balsham, Bishop of Ely (1257-1286). Although the intention was that the students of this college should be principally clerical, yet, strange to say, monks and friars were excluded from the benefits it offered.

This exclusive attitude may serve to explain the fact that, for at least sixty years after the settlement of the Carmelites in and about Cambridge, they seem to have taken little or no active part in the academic life of the university. Although they held such a prominent place in the other centres of learning they refused to graduate here, and it was not till forty years after the vision of Our Lady to St. Simon Stock in the convent of Cambridge that the Carmelite Humphrey Necton consented to take the degree of Doctor of Theology. Indeed, he only yielded to the insistent urging of the Chancellor

of the university and William of Louth, Bishop of Ely. A contemporary of Peter Swannington and Simon Stock, he was the first Doctor and professor of Divinity at Cambridge, where he lectured in the Carmelite schools of the new foundation in St. John's parish, a fact which Leland commemorates in the following distich :

Laudibus Umfredum meritis super astra feramus,
Cui data Gratanae laurea prima Scholae.

Above the skies let's Humphrey Necton praise;
For on him first Cambridge conferr'd the bays.

Fuller gives some interesting reasons of his own to explain the hesitation of the Carmelites :[1]

" True it is," he writes, " these Carmelites at their first coming hither, scrupled the acceptance of any academical degree, as having a secular smack therein, part of the pomp and vanity of the world, and therefore inconsistent with the holiness and humility of men of their mortified profession. Besides, this order particularly pretends to wear on their shoulders a scapulary (being a narrow piece of cloth hanging down before and behind) the first of which fashion the Virgin Mary personally presented to one of their society with this compliment, ' receive this, my beloved, which I give unto thy order in sign of my fellowship :' and hence it is that the Carmelites call themselves brethren of the order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel. Except therefore a Carmelite could actually commence an angel, he is a loser by his degree, which in effect is but a degradation unto him. Besides, to wear a hood or habit of a doctorate over the holy scapulary aforesaid, what were it else but preposterously to place earth above heaven? These considerations (weighty no doubt) made

[1] *History of the University of Cambridge.*

THE FRIARS' BUILDING, CAMBRIDGE

FRIARS' GATE
As it is To-day.

the Carmelites for some time demur to the taking of any degree in divinity.

"However, Humphrey Necton first took heart, and ten years ago [1] commenced doctor under William de Ludham, then Chancellor of Cambridge. Here he flourished many years (and now went to Norwich, where he died, anno 1303, having been forty-four years doctor) especially after King Edward erected and endowed a convent for Carmelites in Mill-street in this University, since turned into Queens' College and Catharine Hall.

"The antiquary of Oxford [2] discovereth envy, or ignorance, or both; when speaking of Leland's verses on Necton's commencing he saith, 'quod ego certe de sua secta non intelligo, quasi primus suae sectae Carmeliticae gradum illum suscepisset, sed quasi simpliciter et absolute primus,' as if he had not been the first commencer of his order, but absolutely the first that ever took the degree of doctorship in Cambridge. Contrary to the express testimony of learned authors herein.

"John Bale, *de Script. Brit.*, p. 312. Originally a Carmelite in Norwich (and therefore knowing in the men and matters of his own order) informeth us, that Humphrey Necton, a Suffolk man by birth, and Carmelite by order, 'ex omni sua factione primus (tandem) fuit, qui theologicus doctor sit effectus.'

"John Pits, *de Ang. Scrip.*, p. 388. An Oxford man by education (and therefore his testimony not to be refused by the Oxford antiquary) acquainteth us, that the said Necton 'Cantabrigiae ordinis sui omnium primus creatus est sanctae theologiae doctor;' was the first of his order made doctor in divinity."

[1] In his dates, as in much else, Fuller is inaccurate. Necton took his degree in 1291 (*cf.* Barnwell Chartulary).

[2] Brian Twine, Apolog. Acad. Ox. lib. iii, p. 374.

Necton wrote: Sermons for the Sundays; Theological Questions; Scholastic Lectures, and other works. A man famous for his erudition and probity, a subtle controversialist and able preacher, he died full of years and good works, at Norwich priory in the year 1303.

From their arrival the Carmelites were the most conspicuous community in the town. Their popularity was great and their benefactors numerous. Thus, in the Patent Rolls, under date the 30th of December, 1316, we find a "grant in frank almoin, after inquisition *ad quod damnum*, by the sheriff of Cambridge in the presence of Henry Beaufuiz and Robert Maddingle, although it is to the king's prejudice, to the Carmelite Friars of Cambridge to enclose a vacant plot of land in the king's perambulation around the town containing 120 feet in length and 66 feet in breadth, which is worth 5*s*. 4*d*. a year if he should wish to devise it to farm, adjacent to their dwelling place for the enlargement thereof, the statute of mortmain notwithstanding, provided that in the enclosure of the said plot they make and maintain two gates by which the king, his heirs, and leiges may have ingress and egress for the defence of the town."

On the 4th of January, 1315, licence was granted to "enclose a lane in Cambridge, which is called 'Frauncrauntel,' containing in length 360 feet of land, and in breadth on the west 16 feet, and on the east 10 feet, adjacent to their area, and for the enlargement thereof, to hold to themselves and their successors, the statute of mortmain notwithstanding."

By letters patent, dated the 16th of October, 1331, Joan de Caumpe had licence to give to the monastery a messuage with the appurtenances contiguous to their dwelling.

The consequence of this popularity was that of

all the religious houses in Cambridge that of the Carmelites is said to have been the richest in the reign of Richard II. It must certainly have been commodious and well appointed in view of the fact that, during the parliament which opened at Westminster on the 1st of February, 1387, William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edmund Langley, Duke of York and Earl of Cambridge, lodged there during the session which was held at Cambridge in 1388.

In the year 1369 a memorable controversy began between the Dominicans, as plaintiffs, and the Carmelites, as defendants, in Great St. Mary's Church, before John Donewych, Chancellor of the University, and a court of learned doctors. John Stokes represented his order and launched a vehement attack on the Carmelite traditions, which were ably defended by the Carmelite, John Hornby. Fuller reduces the argument to three principal headings, and, although he cannot help being sarcastic, his summary is so concise and his style so interesting that we give it verbatim. His headings are:

1. Which of the two orders had the best name. The Dominicans urging it more honour to be called from a man, than a mountain; an holy saint than an high heap of earth. The others rejoined, that the mountain of Carmel was more than a mountain, as sanctified by Elijah (chief of their order) so conversant thereon.

2. Which was the most ancient. Wherein the Dominicans pleaded seven years seniority. And, though this may seem but a small matter, yet a race is as fairly won by an horse's head, as by a furlong distance before.

3. Who had the most and strongest papal privileges. Which being a matter of fact, depended upon the production and proving their several instruments.

" John Stokes, a Dominican, born at Sudbury in Suffolk, but studying at Cambridge, as champion of his order, fell foul on the Carmelites, chiefly for calling themselves ' The brothers of the Blessed Virgin,' and then by consequence all know whose uncles they pretend themselves. He put them to prove their pedigree by scripture, how the kindred came in. In brief, Bale saith, ' he left red notes in the white coats of the Carmelites,' he so belaboured them with his lashing language.

" But John Hornby a Carmelite (born at Boston in Lincolnshire) undertook him, called by Bale Cornutus, by others, Hornet-bee, so stinging his stile. He proved the brothership of his order to the Virgin Mary by visions, allowed true by the infallible popes, so that no good christian durst deny it : and prevailed with the Chancellor of Cambridge, in a public writing to signify the superiority of their order in this doughty difference, wherein not an hair of any important truth was concerned."

Of course, Fuller's religious bias prevented him from appreciating the very great importance, to the Carmelites at least, of the points at issue. On the other hand, it should have appealed to him that the Chancellor and the other learned doctors who tried the case would scarcely have considered in a public court a dispute " wherein not an hair of any important truth was concerned," and have given their decision " in a public writing " which would one day be regarded as an historical instrument. As a matter of fact, and the fact will be appreciated by those who have read the first part of this work, especially Chapters II, III and IV, the very existence of the Carmelite Order in these days depended on the establishment of their antiquity and traditions. On the denial of these and the consequent supposition that this was a new order did the

enemies of the Carmelites found their case for its suppression.

Rev. Dr. Stokes, D.D., Lit.D., maintains that the above wordy battle was fought out in a small room at the base of the tower of Great St. Mary's Church, opposite Senate House Hill. There is an old rostrum which he pointed out to us as that occupied by the disputants during the debate. We can scarcely accept this information as correct. The present church was only begun in 1478, on the site of a previous one consecrated in 1351, and the tower was not begun till 1491. The erection of the tower must have necessitated many and considerable alterations in the immediate vicinity, and, consequently, we believe that the room indicated must be contemporary with the tower. The late Father Rushe, in a correspondence with Dr. Stokes, kindly lent us by the latter, claimed that the disputation was conducted in the present Consistory Court.

The Decree or Public Instrument of the Chancellor of the University, John de Dunewych or Dunwyeo (1371-3 and 1374-6), giving his decision in the dispute, is to be found in an original manuscript of the Carmelite, Thomas Scrope (Bradley), *De Institutione Fratrum Carmelitarum Ordinis*,[1] which became the property of the University by the gift of Robert Hare, and which is still preserved in the University Library. It is neatly written on parchment in red and black, with large red initial letters, and is 12mo; ff. 32, with 27 lines to the page, dated the fourteenth century. The dedication reads: "Frater Thomas Bradley . . . . fratri Johanni Blackeney nigro monacho . . . . Invidie proprium est . . . . (Petrus Blesensis Ep. 97 et Giles I. p. 304) . . . . ad eternam gloriam et triumphum te perducat. Amen." The MS. consists chiefly of ex-

[1] Ff. vi, 11-1420.

tracts from various authors, with Bradley's comments on them. On the last leaf is a paragraph headed "Seneca de morte." To each page a running title is prefixed. In ff. 23b. seq. is the "Decretum Universitatis Cantabrigiae super titulo ordinis," of which we give the following translation:

"To all the sons of our Holy Mother the Church under whose notice this letter may come, I, John de Denelhico, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, wish eternal salvation in the Lord.

"Owing to the fact that of late the Institution, Nomenclature, and Approbation of the Order of Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, have been, with great presumption, called in doubt by certain students of the said University, a procedure which gave rise to much dissension and controversy among the students, and was disturbing the peace of the said University, Friar John de Hornby, Confrater of the said Order of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, Professor of Holy Writ, and Regent in this University, humbly and earnestly besought, in full session of the Regents and non-Regents, an opportune remedy for the trouble mentioned.

"For our part, we the aforesaid John, Chancellor, being desirous of putting an end to such dissension and unseemly controversies, and of judging of the truth for ourselves, and, so far as in us lay, of restoring peace to the University in the interest of the students, fixed a day on which the said religious, John Hornby, might plead his cause in our presence and before other seniors elected by the unanimous vote of the Regents and non-Regents to assist us, and all others legally entitled to be present and interested in the matter concerned, by laying before us all the evidence and documents bearing on the said Institution, Nomenclature, and Approbation of the Order of Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel.

" The said Friar John did so, and produced certain privileges granted by the Holy See, the Rule approved by the same authority, as well as other records and ancient manuscripts, for our inspection and that of the aforesaid deputies, having beforehand obtained the consent of the friars of the said Order, and, in his own name and that of the Order, as also of the confratres, begged us that, having heard his reasons and proofs, and having examined the privileges, Rule, monuments, and ancient writings, we should come to a decision and make a declaration of the truth.

" Therefore we, the Chancellor, judging these to be in accordance with reason and law, having first considered the reasons and proofs adduced, having studied the privileges and examined the documents and records, in common with the Doctors and Lawyers of the University deputed to assist us, and with the due observance of the truth and legal order, announce in this our letter that we believe, decide, and hereby announce that the said Order of Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, as is sufficiently clear from the evidence produced and the facts proven, to be specially favoured by the title of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God, in common as in special law, and that the Friars of the said Order are the imitators and successors of the Holy Prophets, Elias and Eliseus.

" Therefore we hereby forbid our students, being subjects of the said University, under threat of punishment and censure proportionate to the offence in our judgment or that of our successors, to gainsay these our declaration and decision to the detriment of the said Friars, the injury of the University, and the disturbance of good order amongst the students. In confirmation of all and single of which decisions we have caused these letters containing our decree to be sealed with the seal of our office.

"Given at Cambridge, the 23rd day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1374."

The controversy was not confined to the University. The opinions maintained by Stokes had spread, and there were many who questioned the Carmelite traditions, and their claim to be Mary's own Order in a special sense. Thomas Scrope, writing on this subject, tells us that those who maintained such opinions seemed to be marked down for the displeasure of Heaven, and that they generally met with an untimely end. So widespread was this belief that religious processions were organised by Thomas, Abbot of St. Werburgh's, to propitiate the offended Mother of God and to avert such calamities.

During one of these processions in the city of Chester, in which the Carmelites were accompanied by a great concourse of people, they passed before the shrine of the saintly hermit Goddestald. Here a miraculous image of Our Lady had been set up. As the processionists passed by, the image pointed to the Carmelites, and all were astonished to hear her pronounce these pregnant words: "Behold my brethren, behold my brethren, behold my beloved brethren, the chosen ones." Thus was all doubt set at rest in the minds of the devout and privileged witnesses of this remarkable miracle, known in Carmelite history as the Chester miracle.[1]

In June, 1381, the Peasants' Revolt broke out, and there were insurrections all over England, including Cambridge.[2] Because of its privileges, which affected the interests of the people, at least so it was alleged, Corpus Christi College was attacked and the apartments of the scholars broken open. The mob unfortunately stole or destroyed all the books, charters,

[1] *Speculum Carm.*, lib. v, Chron. No. 790.
[2] *Cf.* White Friars, London and Cambridge.

writings and effects belonging to that society. At Great St. Mary's Church they rifled the common chest of the University, and burned and destroyed all the bulls, charters, and muniments therein. Benefactors who bestowed sums of money on the colleges usually presented therewith "chests," strongly bound and clasped boxes, in which to store it. These chests were usually known by the names of the donors. They served the University the purpose of a bank, out of which any Master of Arts (especially if an university preacher) might, on security given, borrow £3 gratis, for one or more years. Of these chests there were fourteen or fifteen at Cambridge, one being still preserved. In 1348 the sum of £100, together with the "Trinity Chest," was presented by Bishop Bateman of Norwich. It was placed at the White Friars in the care of the Carmelites. This also was seized by the townspeople during the revolt.

The Hundred Rolls gives an interesting note determining the precedence of the Carmelites. "In the processions which were held to commemorate the benefactors of the University, and which took place on the first Friday in Advent, the Friday next before Palm Sunday, and the Friday next before the Ascension, the Carmelite friars took the third place in the procession." [1]

In 1390 John Bromyard, a Dominican, came to Cambridge, where he became a professor of divinity. He was probably sent here designedly to discover any Wicliffites, of whom he was a professed enemy. However, Ralph Spalding, a Carmelite, was the sole eminent Cantabrigian at this time suspected of favouring the heretical opinions.

In 1445 the learned Carmelite, Nicholas Kenton, of

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[1] II. 360.

whom we shall have something to say later, was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

When Queens' College was founded in 1447 by Andrew Dokett, under the patronage of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI, the greater part of the ground required for that purpose was presented to the Queen by the Carmelites. This was the unoccupied ground lying to the east between the monastery and the present Queens' Lane.

Lady Margaret Roos bequeathed to the friars 40*s.* in 1477, and Roger Drury of Hawstead gave them 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1493.

The Cambridge monastery produced many very able men. Fuller gives an important list of these, collected from Bale, Pitts, and other authorities. It is as follows :

Alan. de Linn, 1420; Dionys. Holcan, 1424; Walter Diss, 1404; Walter Heston, 1350; Will. Beccle, 1438; Will. Bintree, 1493; Will. Blakney, 1490; Will. Califord, ——; Will. Cokisford, 1380; Will. de Sancta Fide, 1372; Will. Greene, 1470; Will. Harsick, 1413; Will. Lincoln, 1360; Will. Sarslet, 1466; Will. Parcher, 1470; Hugh of St. Neots, 1340; Joh. Bampton, 1341; Jo. Baret, 1556; Jo. Beston, 1428; Jo. Clipston, 1378; Jo. Elin, 1379; Jo. Falsham, 1348; Jo. Hornby, 1374; Jo. Pascal, 1361; Jo. Repingale, 1350; Jo. Swaffham, 1394; Jo. Thorpe, 1440; Jo. Tilney, 1430; Jo. Wamsleet, 1418; Mart. Sculthorp, 1430; Nic. Cantilupe, 1441; Nic. Kenton, 1468; Nic. Swaffham, 1449; Pet. de Sancta Fide, 1452; Ralph Spalding, 1390; Rob. Ivorie, 1392; Tho. Hilley, 1290; Tho. Maldon, 1404.

The greater part of these writers were distinguished only as theologians. John Baret was the author of a large dictionary in four languages, English, French, Greek, and Latin. Alanus of Linn was a man of great celebrity in his time, and a most learned and copious

writer in philosophy, theology, and history. Of others we shall make special mention.

John Pascall, of Suffolk, was born of noble parents. He joined the Carmelite Order at the convent of Ipswich, where, being of a studious disposition, he made great advances in learning, developing an eloquent and poetic style in which he gave expression to erudite and weighty thoughts. In order to continue his studies he was sent to Cambridge, where he did a brilliant course, and soon won a great name among the clergy, taking out his Doctor's degree with the highest honours in the year 1333. Upon his return to his convent at Ipswich he became famous for his preaching, and attracted the attention of William, Bishop of Norwich, through whose influence he was consecrated Bishop of Scutari, as suffragan bishop of Norwich, in 1344. In that capacity he consecrated the new churchyard of the Norwich Carmelite friary in the same year. Edward III, attracted by the fame of his learning, had him translated to the see of Llandaff in Wales in 1347, which position he held till his death in 1361. A voluminous writer, he produced, besides other volumes which are said to be lost, several volumes of sermons which are extant. He was buried in the Cathedral of Tarensus.

Thomas Maldon entered the Carmelite Convent in the town of Maldon, Essex, and was professed there. At Cambridge he graduated as Master of Theology, and became known as an acute thinker, clever disputant, and an eloquent preacher. The names of twelve of his works are known, and one is still extant, almost all dealing with philosophical and theological subjects. He died Prior of Maldon in 1404.

Walter Dysse, as a youth, joined the Carmelites at Norfolk convent, where he proved himself to be pious and clever beyond the ordinary. Being sent to Cam-

bridge to pursue his studies in philosophy and theology, he took out his doctorate in these subjects with the highest honours. He then studied at Paris and Rome, where, besides teaching, he made a name for himself as a preacher, and was welcomed as an intimate by the most influential people. In 1387, at the General Chapter held at Brixia, he was elected Provincial of Spain. The reason for this unusual procedure was the fact that the Spanish and French provinces adhered to the anti-pope Clement VII, and Provincials, or at least titular Provincials, were chosen from the rest of the Order. That same year he was appointed Legate *a latere* to the Spanish dependencies, Castile, Portugal, Aragonia, Catalonia, Navarre, and Granada, by Urban VII, and was confirmed by his successor, Boniface IX. He was confessor to Constance of Castile and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. His superiors sent him throughout England, Vasconia, France and Italy, and elsewhere, to preach the Cross of Christ against the infidels, heretics and schismatics, which he did with the greatest success. Thomas Walsingham relates that in the year 1387 Dysse received from the Pope many privileges to be accorded to those who should make a return in service or otherwise. Amongst others of these privileges he was empowered to create Papal Chaplains. One on whom he conferred this honour was an Austin friar who afterwards became a Lollard and preached in a most scandalous fashion against his former brethren. It evidently led to many abuses within his own Order also, for we frequently find power being granted by the secular authorities in England to the provincial and priors to compel the obedience of Carmelite friars who claim partial exemption from their Rule on the plea of their being Papal Chaplains. The first instance of this occurs, as far as we have been able to discover, on the 20th of May, 1395, and, on the 6th of July, 1397,

a prohibition was directed to all priors, masters, and other friars of the Carmelite Order in England, as well as to sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other of the king's ministers, on information that certain friars of the Order, with the design of evading the correction of their superiors therein, have "craftily obtained papal bulls making them papal vicars within England, to the prejudice of the office of the prior provincial of the Order, the disturbance of the peace, and the introduction of other intolerable errors therein, especially of the payment of money raised by taxing the friars for the support of these vicars"—against their doing or executing aught under colour of the said bulls in violation of the peace or prejudice of the said Order; and the king's ministers are to bring before the king and council any friars found executing the same without licence.[1]

Nicholas Cantilupe was born of parents of noble rank, his father being William, Count of Demeter.[2] At an early age he entered the Carmelite Order at Bristol, being, at a later date, sent to Cambridge to pursue his studies, where he graduated brilliantly as Doctor of Theology. He was pious and grave, humble yet of authoritative mien, prudent and wise, because of which qualities he was elected from time to time to the office of Prior, in Cambridge, Bristol, Gloucester, and Nottingham, in which last place he died on the 6th of September, 1441. Amongst other works he wrote an *Encomium of the Carmelite Order*, wherein was included a list of the nobility throughout the world who wore the Brown Scapular, and a *History of Cambridge University*, which was known in that institution as the "Black Book."

Nicholas Kenton was a native of Suffolk and a friar

[1] Patent Rolls and Trodigma Neustriae.
[2] Probably a crusading ennoblement.

of the Ipswich convent, where he got his first education. Going up to Cambridge, he made remarkable strides in philosophy, theology, and the secular sciences. He also distinguished himself as a historian, poet, and orator. Having completed a brilliant course and graduated as Doctor of Divinity he was made Chancellor of the University in 1445. In 1444 he had been elected Prior Provincial at the Chapter held at Stamford in that year, and continued with remarkable success in that office till the year 1456, when he resigned, and was succeeded by John Milverton. According to the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* there were one thousand five hundred friars in the English Province in his time. After a life of great sanctity he died in London on the 4th of September, 1468. Among his writings are poetic lives of certain saints, those especially of the Carmelite Order, and prayers petitioning their intercession. One such is addressed to St. Andrew Corsini, by whose mediation he was believed to have been cured of a serious illness. He wrote, amongst other works: *Commentaries on the Canticle of Canticles*, the *History of the Prophet Elias*, the *Life of St. Cyril of Constantinople* (Carmelite), *Exhortations to the Clergy*, *Capitular Speeches*, *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, *On Theological Questions*, *On Feasts*, *Questions on the Gospels*, *Letters* to the Cardinal Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Exeter, and other bishops, the Duke of Norfolk and other peers, against the heretics, and exhorting them to deal mercifully with penitents, and many other works.

Robert Bale was attached to the Convent of Burnham Norton, and is said by some historians to have been the most distinguished literary Carmelite of the English Province. He certainly had an extraordinary love for and a deep knowledge of history, and it is claimed for him that he was conversant with every

historical work of any importance dealing, not only with his own country and Order, but with every country. He spent a part of every year at the Carmelite monasteries of Oxford and Cambridge for the purposes of study. His chief work was the annals of the Order. He also wrote an office of St. Simon Stock in verse for the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which begins: Ave Simon Pater Inclyte. This office, which is believed to have been written in 1500, was afterwards used in England. It is not to be confounded with that in use in the entire Order in 1435, of which, however, it is a poetical paraphrase, and is, consequently, of great importance in the controversy on the Scapular Vision (cf. *The Scapular and Some Critics*, pp. 227 et seq.). He also wrote: *History of the Prophet Elias* and *Sermons*. He died Prior of Burnham Norton in the year 1503, and was buried there.

Walter Heston was born at Stamford, Lincoln, and graduated as Doctor of Philosophy and Theology at Cambridge, where he also professed these subjects. He was beloved by all because of his singular integrity and mildness of disposition, and was celebrated for his erudition and ability in both profane and sacred studies. He was Provincial of England for several years, being elected in 1348, 1351, 1354, and 1357. During his residence at Stamford he lectured at the famous Carmelite schools there.

John Thorpe, Carmelite of Norwich, Doctor of Theology of Cambridge, became known as "Doctor Ingeniosus" because of his extremely subtle reasoning. He was one of the five theologians selected to try William Withum, who was condemned for heresy. He died at the Carmelite convent of Norwich, on the 11th of August, 1440, and was buried there.

William Grenaeus, or Viretus, Cambridge Bachelor of Theology, devoted his extraordinary talents to a

study of the Order. To this end he went throughout the whole of England gathering together the records of illustrious members, which he compiled and published. He also compiled a monumental work on the Carmelite Saints, entitled *Hagiologium Carmelitarum*.

William Bintraeus, or Byntre, was born at Norfolk, entered the Order at Burnham Norton, and there, under the guidance of the local community, laid the foundation of a great learning. At Cambridge he became known as a master of all the liberal arts, of philosophy and theology, eventually graduating as Doctor of Divinity. Though engrossed in study he never neglected the practise of piety, but sought perfection in both sacred and secular science. At Cambridge there were in these days many who sought to injure the religious orders, and, fearing the reflection of their poverty on their own consciously dissipated lives, did not hesitate to calumniate them. According to Pitseus the reason why the Carmelite Order was so consistently persecuted was that, whilst the most strict in the observance of the vow of poverty, it was the most flourishing, " and envy is most often the companion of success." Byntre refuted these calumnies with vigour and with the happiest results, so that his writings on this and kindred topics made him famous. He wrote a large number of works, the names of seven of which are preserved. Amongst these we find the *Defensorium Paupertatis*, or *An Apology for the Mendicant Orders*, and a work, *De Ornatu Latinae Linguae*. He died on the 3rd of September, 1493.

We might continue this list of eminent scholars produced by the Carmelite Order, whose names are associated with this illustrious academy, almost indefinitely, but sufficient have been given to show what a power the Order was in its scholastic life up to the time of the destructive Reformation.

West of the old Queens' Chapel, now used as a Lecture-room and Library, is the Queens' College Library, occupying both stories. In the upper storey are to be found a number of stained-glass windows which were brought here from the old monastery. They are cameo portraits of eminent Carmelites, each wearing the Doctor's cap. There were evidently subscriptions giving the names and titles, but unfortunately these have been dispersed or lost. A singular lack of care is displayed in their arrangement in their present positions. Thus we traced two strips of worded glass, set in two different windows, which, placed together, gave a complete name. Because of this carelessness we, unfortunately, have no means of knowing who are represented in these interesting relics.

We will add but one more biography, that of a genius no doubt, but of one whose career sheds but little reflected glory on the Order that developed his genius, only to find it misused and made the stepping-stone to worldly advancement at the cost of integrity and every moral virtue.

John Bale, the famous historian, was born at Cove, a village five miles from Dunwich in Suffolk, in the year 1495. He was educated at Norwich, where he joined the Carmelite Order when only twelve years of age. His education was continued at Jesus College, Cambridge, and there he graduated. He would seem to have early fallen into heretical ways of thought, for it is related of him that whilst at Doncaster friary in the year 1530, being perhaps prior, he taught one William Bowman " that Christ would dwell in no church made of lime and stone by man's hands, but only in heaven above and in man's heart on earth." In view of this fact his later apostacy is easily explained. Yet, strange to say, this doubter was elected prior of Ipswich in the year 1533. It is generally stated that he violated his

vows and married as early as the year 1534, but this cannot be correct, since he was still writing as Prior of Ipswich, of which he was the last superior, as late as year 1536. Consequently that unhappy event must have taken place some years later. The arguments of a layman, Lord Wentworth, according to his own account, enforced, no doubt, by the charms of the young lady who later played the false role of wife to a renegade friar, converted him to the Reformation. Having been imprisoned for preaching against the Catholic religion, first by Leo, Archbishop of York, and afterwards by Stokesly, Bishop of London, he was set at liberty by Cromwell. Having taken the oath of Supremacy, he never looked back, but became one of the bitterest enemies of the Catholics, against whom he wrote vulgarly and preached in a most virulent manner. He was a multifarious writer, a man of learning and eloquence, but coarse and violent, with no respect whatever for the feelings of others. Yet, strange to say, in his history of the Carmelite Order, he deals gently with his former associates, and had evidently a great esteem for " the learning that characterised various members of the house over which he was for a short time prior." He was appointed, under Edward VI, to the living of Bishop's Stoke, Southampton, when the boy-king, having heard him preach, nominated him Protestant bishop of Ossory, Kilkenny, Ireland. In the Patent Rolls (7 Edw. VI, Membrane I, No. i, 1533), we find the nomination of John Bale, Professor of Divinity, to the bishopric of Ossory, directed to George, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate; Edward, Bishop of Meath; Thomas, Bishop of Derry; and Eugene, Bishop of Down. The king's letter is dated, Westminster, the 20th of October. But the people of Ossory clung to their ancient Faith, and when Bale tried his hand at proselytising he was roughly handled by the indignant

Catholic population. So violent was their fury that in one tumult it is said that five of his domestics were killed in his presence, and he was eventually driven ignominiously from Kilkenny when, on Mary's accession to the throne, he lay concealed for some time in Dublin. He left behind him at Kilkenny a well furnished library, and in this connection there is still extant an interesting letter from Queen Elizabeth to St. Leger ordering him " to send over the books and writings of Bale, a man that hath been studious in the search for the history and antiquities of this our realm, which he left behind him, in the time of our late sister Queen Mary, when he was occasioned to depart out of Ireland, for the illustration and setting forth of the story of this realm." [1] In the end he boarded a ship for Scotland, but was captured at sea by pirates and sold. On being redeemed he went to Geneva, where he compiled, immediately after his arrival, the narrative of his adventures in Ireland, which was printed in December of the same year, and bears the singular colophon : " Imprinted in Rome, before the Castell of S. Angell, at the signe of S. Peter." Amongst his works that which is probably the best known to-day is his *Scriptorium Illustrium Majoris Brittanniae Catalogus*, or, An Account of the Lives of the Eminent Writers of Britain. Commencing with Japhet, the Son of Noah, it reaches the year 1557, and is compiled from various sources, but chiefly from the antiquary Leland. It " must be considered ever valuable as the foundation of English biography." To students of the Carmelite Order his writings dealing with that subject are invaluable. He was in a position to collect the most reliable information, since he had to hand the original manu-

[1] Patent and Close Rolls, Chancery, Ireland, Hen. VIII, ed. Morrin, Vol. I, Preface XII, Dublin, 1861.

scripts and works which were soon after destroyed by the ignorant vandalism of the so-called "reformers." His "Comedy" of John the Baptist's preaching and the "Tragedy" of God's Promises in the Old Law were printed in the year 1538. As part of his protestantising propaganda he staged both these Miracle Plays at the Market Cross in the City of Kilkenny. It is interesting to find some of his protagonists at this late date dilating on their great success in the spiritual regeneration of the unhappy Irish Catholics. His Carmelite collections may be seen in the Harleian MSS. preserved in the British Museum,[1] whilst another original manuscript may be inspected at Cambridge University Library.

[1] Nos. 3838, 7031, &c.

CHAPTER XI

WHITE FRIARS—OXFORD

" Glory's true image here we trace:
First, like a prism bright and fair,
Then, like an expiatory glass,
Its purple hues like blood appear—"

(*Victor Hugo*, transl.)

Although the sites which the Carmelites occupied in Oxford are not so definitely known and marked as those of Rewley Abbey and the Dominicans (next to Pusey House) we have been able to place them exactly. There were two foundations in the city itself, which we shall consider in their chronological order.

But even before the Carmelites settled within the boundaries of the city they had a residence close by, the actual spot being now unknown, from which they attended the schools and took out their degrees. It will be remembered that as soon as it was decided to undertake the active work of the ministry St. Simon Stock appreciated the necessity of the highest possible education for the religious who should be engaged in that work. He himself was one of the very first to graduate in the University of Oxford. Thus Wood writes: " Leland (as I remember) speaking very honourably of Peter Swannington and Simon Stock, two of this Order, saith that the former (who was contemporary with Humphrey Necton, the first professor of Divinity of this Order at Cambridge) was the first Doctor or Professor, and the other the first Bachelor of Divinity of their Order in this University also." And Leland himself writes: " Stock, being now an old

man, was not ashamed to complete the studies which he had done but imperfectly in his youth. Therefore he went to Oxford—now as formerly the most flourishing of the schools, and won a name and honour among the students. But at the same time that Stock was studying there was no house of the Carmelites either in the city or suburbs." This was about the year 1244. In the following year Simon was elected Prior General of the Order at Aylesford, when he immediately set about founding convents in the university towns, and, where possible, in connection with the universities themselves.

It was not till the year 1254, however, that the Carmelites opened up the first house within the city. A certain noble, Nicholas de Meules, or de Molis, Keeper of Oxford Castle, and a baron of Somersetshire, gave them a habitation in Stockwell Street, together with a close, known as Cornwall Close, to the south of the dwelling. Anthony Wood, the Oxford antiquarian, writes:[1] "What in the next place remaineth to be said of other fabricks in and joyning to this street of Stockwell (which towards its north end branched into another street[2] leading on the right hand to S. Gileses Church, and another on our left to Walton Street[3] conducting us sometimes to the village of Walton) are, first, the quondam mansion of the Carmelite Fryers and the now ruins of Gloucester College. Of both which, together with the originall of their orders, as also the foundation and history of them, I shall in order according to their antiquities insert.

"And first, for the Carmelite Fryers who in that respect craveth the chief place, I shall as it follows deliver what I have to say of them."

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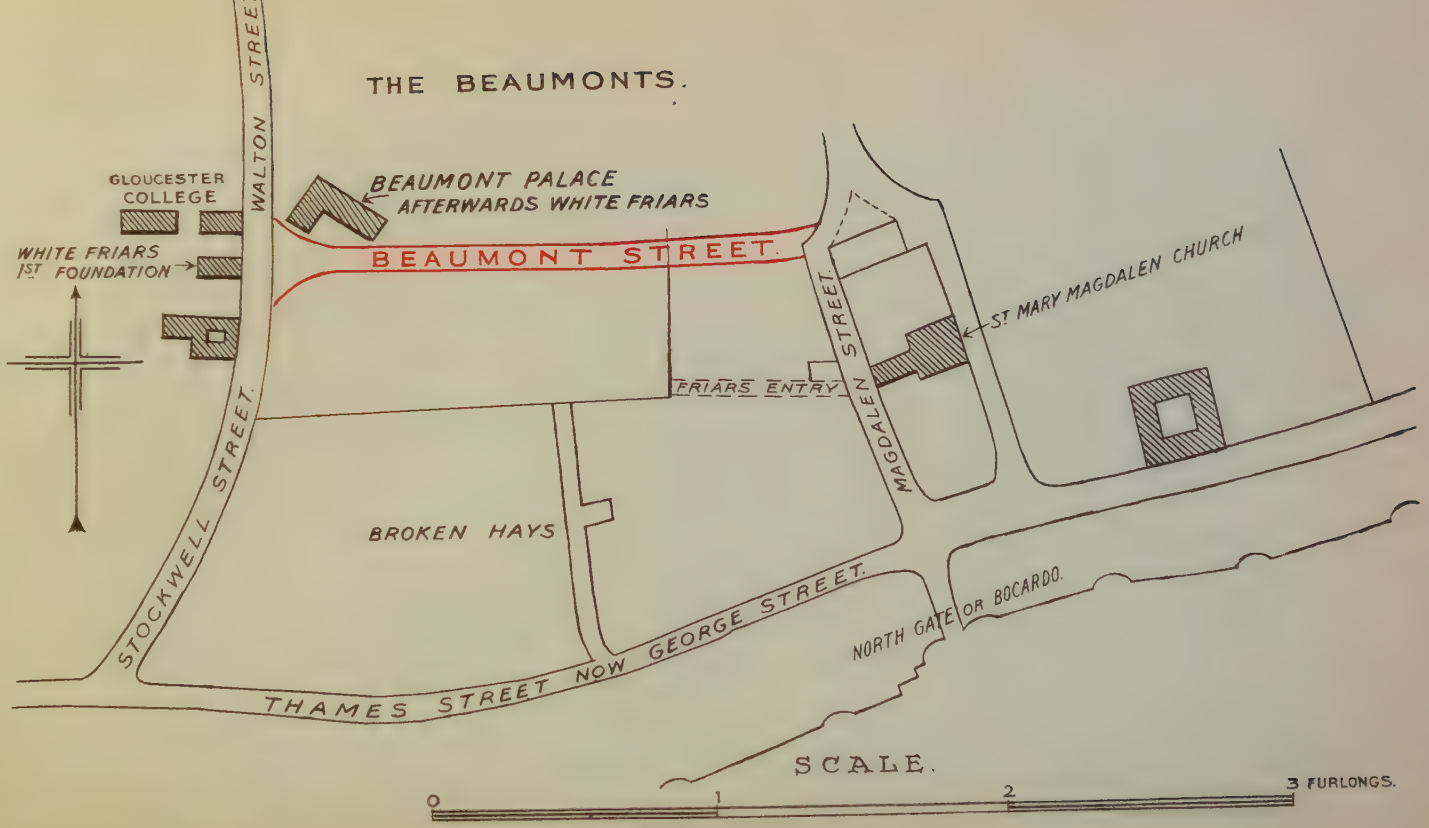
[1] *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford* (1661-6).
[2] Now Little Clarendon Street.
[3] Now Walton Crescent.


THE BEAUMONTS.
GLOUCESTER COLLEGE
WHITE FRIARS 1ST FOUNDATION
WALTON STREET
STOCKWELL STREET
BEAUMONT PALACE
AFTERWARDS WHITE FRIARS
BEAUMONT STREET.
FRIARS ENTRY
MAGDALEN STREET
ST MARY MAGDALEN CHURCH
BROKEN HAYS
THAMES STREET NOW GEORGE STREET.
NORTH GATE OR BOCARDO.
SCALE.
0
1
2
3 FURLONGS.

There is no street at present named Stockwell Street, but we find from old maps and records that the southern portion of Walton Street, from below Beaumont Street to Little Clarendon Street, was so named in these days. At the southern end, facing Beaumont Street, is Worcester College. This college includes Gloucester Hall and the site of the old Carmelite monastery. According to John Ross, the Warwick antiquarian, the house was situated "juxta littus Thamistae ex opposito abbatiae monachorum de Ruley." This description might be misleading. Worcester College is to the east of the eastern branch of the Thames, on the opposite side of which was Rewley Abbey. As a matter of fact, it must have been contiguous to the site later occupied by Gloucester Hall, and which was sold by the Carmelites to the Benedictine Monks of Gloucester, when the Hall was founded for them by John Giffard, Baron of Brimsfield, in the year 1283. Up to the time of the Reformation the Carmelites retained land on this side of Stockwell Street. Both Wood and Hearne were satisfied that the buildings on the south side of the smaller quadrangle, *i.e.*, the ruins of old Gloucester Hall, were relics of the Carmelite occupation. The friars added considerably to the original site, and adorned and enlarged it "with gardens and wildernesses, according to their fashion, in 1282."

The house was acquired by Henry de Hanna when he was Provincial. This Henry was born at Norwich. He seemed to have had an instinctive love for the solitary life, and entered the Carmelite Order at the hermitical convent of Burnham Norton, Norfolk. There he was professed and lived for many years a most saintly life. A man of remarkable learning, not a common acquirement in these very early days, he dreaded applause and, whereas he frequently delivered erudite and edifying discourses to his subjects during his provincialate, he

was never known to speak to the public ear. He was twice Provincial of England, being elected in the General Chapter held at London by St. Simon Stock to succeed Ralph Freeborn, and again in 1281, and would seem to have held the same high office in France. This holy friar never spared himself where the interests of his Order were concerned, and his industry and zeal were remarkable, for he founded monasteries throughout France, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany, spreading the Carmelite influence everywhere.

The place was soon found to be too small for the requirements of the community, so they obtained from one Nicholas de Stockwell, Mayor for several years, a plot of ground adjoining their property, for extensions. This Nicholas, as we read, "being a great admirer of their holiness and exemplary carriage, had before been very beneficial to them in several respects."

They were now desirous of building an oratory, but as all this district was under the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Osney they had first to obtain his permission as well as that of the diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln. Before the abbot gave his consent he required them to enter into a contract not to receive or interfere in any way with the revenues of the abbey, not to hear confessions or administer the other sacraments, and to pay a certain regular toll. Even this conditional leave was only gained through the influence of their generous benefactor, Nicholas de Meules, and of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Ela, "the good countess of Warwicke." The Carmelite, John of Rochester, was apparently constituted prior, for we read that 'W. the Provincial Prior of the Carmelites in England, did by his writing dated on July 24, the vigils of S. James the Apostle, 1257, give power and authority to Brother John de Ropha, proctor of this place of the Carmelites." The friars seem to have evaded the clause requiring

them not to hear confessions, since we learn of their great popularity as confessors, and of numerous donations received from grateful penitents. The abbot, however, did not let the matter rest at that, but complained that their administration of the sacrament was prejudicial to the friars of other orders who were not confessors and to the secular clergy. For some reason they were not interfered with in the discharge of this priestly function.

Here, as elsewhere, we find the secular authorities coming to the aid of the Carmelites both by the favour of their patronage and by donations towards their support and the erection of the necessary buildings. On the 2nd of January, 1277, the king ordered the bailiff of Wodestock to cause them to have " two oaks with their strippings for the works of their church, of the king's gift," and on the 26th of November, 1280, licence was granted them " to receive from any persons willing to enfeoff them as much of the adjoining land as they require for the enlargement of their place, and to hold the same in mortmain."

They remained in this house for sixty years, and it was evidently here that a Provincial Chapter, mentioned in the *Chronicon* of Thomas Wykes, was held on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, 1289. Then Beaumont Palace, situated on the opposite side of Stockwell Street, was handed over to them by the king, and there they remained till the dissolution of the monasteries.

The present Beaumont Street did not exist in these days, nor was there any ancient way corresponding to it. It was constructed to commemorate the fact that the royal palace of Beaumont had once stood on the northern corner of the west end, where a small garden is to be seen at present. The main façade of the palace was on Stockwell Street and to the north and south

there stretched extensive fields, the palace grounds, known as " the Beaumonts " and " Broken Hays." Approximately, the boundaries of the property were—on the north side, the present Alfred Street; on the south, Thames Street (now George's Street); on the east, Magdalene and St. Giles' Streets; and on the west, Stockwell or Walton Street—all of which would seem to have been given to the friars with the palace, for in leases " the Beaumonts " is henceforth called " the Carmelite friars'." [1]

Wood's account of how the king's favour was won and, incidentally, the king's palace also, is interesting:

" When King Edward I, therefore, waged war with the Scots, anno domini 1304, he took with him out of England a Carmelite Fryer named Robert Baston accounted in his time the most famous poet of this nation, purposely as it seems that he would write poetically of his victories that he should obtain there. The which that he did in heroicks with great ingenuity is by divers confest, and thereupon obtained favour with his prince."

This Robert Baston must not be confused with his brother-german, Philip Baston, who was also a Carmelite and a poet, and who studied at Oxford. From two documents we gather that at this time Philip Baston and other Carmelites dwelt at Windsor Castle, probably in the capacity of confessors. The first document is dated from Windsor, the 18th of April, 1313, and is an order " to him who supplies the place of the treasurer and to the Barons of the Exchequer, to deliver to Philip de Baston of the Order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel a number of books in the Exchequer to be brought by him to the king at Windsor Park." The second, from the same address, is dated the 1st of

[1] *Cf.* Plan. Modern Beaumont Street is inserted in red.

June, 1315, and is an order to Warin de Insula, constable of Windsor Castle, " to cause the friars of St. Mary of Mount Carmel staying in the Castle by the king's orders to have the maintenance ordained for them by the king at another time, until the king shall otherwise ordain."

Edward II (accounted a good poet in his day), carrying on the war after his father's death, employed Robert Baston for the same purpose as had his predecessor. In the year 1313 he assembled an immense army at Stirling. " Never," wrote Baston, " was there seen a more splendid, noble, superb army of Englishmen." There the king encountered, 24th of June, 1314, Robert Bruce, King of the Scots, and the Battle of Bannockburn was fought. It was a bloody battle in which the English were defeated and most of the nobles slain. In the end the king, together with his bishops and Hugh le Spenser, were forced to flee. " It was not the speed of his horse," writes an old chronicler,[1] " nor the aid of man that helped the king to escape but the mother of God whom he had invoked." Wood continues his narrative thus :

" In which flight Baston telling the king that if he would call on the mother of God for mercy, he should find favour, he did so accordingly, with a promise then made to her that if he should get free from the hands of his enimies and find safety, he would erect some house in England to receive the poore Carmelites. A little after these things were said Baston was taken prisoner and being discovered by the Scots what his office was, was by them compelled to chang his fancy and write of the victory of the Scots king; the which he doing verie faintly, was afterwards sent home. Soon after, the king (who safely arrived in England

[1] *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland.*

but with great losse) being put in mind of his promise, Baston and others were not wanting to persuade him to give to the said Carmelites his palace or mansion house in Oxford. At length the king by divers solicitations and with fair promises of his soule's health did give them the said mansion under this form following.

" Eduardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliae, dominus Hyberniae, et dux Aquitaniae, omnibus ad quos presentes litterae pervenerint salutem.

" Sciatis quod, &c."

The document is dated, 1317.

On the 28th of June, 1315, twenty-four Carmelites had entered into residence in the king's manor of Sheen in Surrey by his command,[1] and 120 marks a year were granted to them out of the Exchequer for their support, until the king should make better provision for them. This residence was formally handed over to them on the 12th of July following, together with three islands and enclosures pertaining to the manor. For some reason or other it was apparently considered unsuitable, and so we find Edward, on the 10th of February, 1318, fulfilling his promise of making suitable provision for them by sending them to occupy the new convent of Beaumont, by the north gate of Oxford, and continuing to them the grant of 120 marks.

Other documents referring to this gift are to be found in the Patent Rolls. Thus, under date the 1st of February [2] and the 21st of November,[3] 1318, we find a grant " to fulfil a vow made by the king, when in danger, and with the assent of the prelates, magnates of the Council, and the Parliament at York, to the Carmelite Friars of Oxford, of the dwelling-place of his manor by the north-gate of Oxford, beyond the walls,

[1] Patent Rolls, Clipstone, Memb. 12 (3) Westm. Mem. 35.
[2] Patent Rolls, Westm., Memb. 3.
[3] Patent Rolls, York, Memb. 16.

with its closes and buildings, to hold in frank-almoin to them and their successors celebrating divine service for the souls of the king's progenitors, and those of himself, his wife, Isabella, his children and of all Christians." The property was enlarged by a grant made, the 28th of June, by Master John Walewayn of a plot of land containing 100 feet long by one foot at either end and 30 feet in width in the middle. Licence was also granted for the friars to construct a subterraneous way, 50 feet in length and 10 feet in width, from their old dwelling-place in the same suburb, passing under the king's highway to their new home.[1] Two messuages were granted on the same date in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, which the king held of the surrender of the abbot and convent of Osney.

The king stipulated that there should be in the new house "24 brethren conversant in theological studies and that each of them should receive yearly 8 marks from the Exchequer." Either in the same year or the year following he gave them further two tenements in Stockwell Street, almost opposite to Gloucester College.

These royal gifts created jealousy among the monks and the secular clergy, who began to write and preach against the Carmelites. Wood refers to this matter.[2]

"This, it seems, was soe remarkable and taken notice of by many sober men that were inclining to that religion which was afterwards called Wiclivesme, considering that they who professed a beggarly life and at their first rise retirednesse in desolate and solitary places should arrive at so immensurate excesse in their habitation, that it added more gaule to their inke and gave them occasion to lay their lashes more homeward upon the Monorites (sic) who were now fallen

[1] Patent Rolls, Woodstock, Memb. 3.
[2] *City of Oxford*, p. 368.

from their first principles to all kind of wickednesses." Notable among the adverse preachers was Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh. We shall have occasion to refer to this attack on the Mendicants, and on the Carmelites in particular, later.

Another cause of discontent was that the Carmelites continued to hear confessions, and by the popularity of their ministrations to draw to themselves revenues that would have otherwise found their way into the purses of their less popular rivals. In the end the trouble became so acute, and the attacks so bitter and unrelenting, that the Carmelites were compelled to appeal to Pope John for protection. He, in the second year of his pontificate, issued a bull whereby " this their seat was confirmed to them and liberty given of translating themselves from their old to their new mansion, or of selling the old or changing it for other land notwithstanding the constitution of Pope Boniface VIII, his predecessor, made concerning such matters to the contrary.

Up to this time the friars had had no public church in which to serve. At the king's request they now obtained leave from the Osneyans, patrons of St. Mary Magdalene's church, in whose parish the new monastery was situated, of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice and administering the Sacraments there, as well as the right of sepulture. This concession was scarcely made willingly, but was evidently due to the irresistible royal influence. The grant was made on the 3rd of April, 1318. The only means of access to the church from the monastery was through a narrow lane-way at the eastern end of their property, which remains to this day and still retains its old name, " the Friars' Entry." [1] This interesting relic of mediæval times runs

[1] *Cf.* Plan.

ANCIENT CARMELITE CHURCH, ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S, OXFORD

parallel to Beaumont Street, a little to the south, and is approached from Beaumont Street through Gloucester Street.

The little church of St. Mary Magdalene still stands, almost as it was in the days of the Carmelite occupation. The following interesting particulars as to its history are to be found on a card placed within the church :

(1) The original church, before the Norman Conquest, was attached to the Convent of S. Frideswide.

(2) Robert D'Oily the Elder gave it to the College of S. George in the Castle (1074). Robert D'Oily the Younger transferred the College of St. George and S. Mary Magdalene Parish Church to Osney Abbey (1129). The Canons of St. Frideswide disputed the right of this gift to the Abbey before the Papal Court, but eventually lost their suit (1280). At the founding of Christ Church (1525-1532) the parish church, together with the Abbey, reverted to its original patrons, viz., the Canons of S. Frideswide's. . . . .

(3) Bishop Hugh of Lincoln enlarged it by adding the North and South aisles (1194).

(4) Devorgilla, foundress of Balliol College, fitted up the East end of the North aisle as an oratory for the College (1280-1293), which was called St. Catherine's Chapel.

(5) At the East end of the South aisle was a chapel, called St. Thomas' (c. 1417).

(6) The Carmelites added the South Chapel, dedicated to " Our Lady of Pity " (1320).

Thus the church consists of four parallel aisles, and is probably broader than it is long. The Lady Chapel built by the Carmelites on the south side occupies the site of a crypt erected by Hugh of Lincoln, and the remains of the crypt windows are still to be seen. The " Friars' Entry " opens opposite to the west end of the church. The Lady Chapel was separated from the

rest of the church; in other words, it was built against the south wall, and thus served as a private choir for the friars. The entrance faced westwards, *i.e.*, towards the "Friars' Entry," and was distinct from the door of the church itself. This can yet be seen in the west wall of the Lady Chapel (inside), the arch being filled in with a staircase "leading to the Parvise (1511-1531), when the new porch was made to face southwards. The levels of the sedilia, the piscina, and the staircase leading to the roof, clearly indicate the height of the floor of the Lady Chapel before the recent restorations. The rich deep tracery of the windows, and the beautiful balustrade and niches on the outside of the South Chapel, are among the things best worth noticing in the architecture of Oxford. To the fourteenth century also belong (c. 1350) the West window of the South aisle, the flamboyant window of the Tower, and the beautifully ornamented baptismal font. The Decorated style is consequently the prevailing characteristic of this ancient parish church, as viewed from the Broad or the Cornmarket." [1]

In the restorations of 1511-1531 the dividing wall between the Lady Chapel and the rest of the church was taken down and replaced by a large archway cut through the south wall, which is out of all proportion to the smaller arches which led into St. Thomas' Chapel from the Lady Chapel, and which were probably earlier piercings.

Later restorations took place in 1826 and 1842, and the character of the ancient buildings changed to a considerable extent,—a vandallic act that has few parallels in view of the historical and architectural value of a building that could never be much more than a monument. Surely the Church that was responsible

[1] *Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society*, Nov. 3, 1900.

for it was not so poor that it could not afford to build a chapel of similar dimensions if such were needed. It matters not that the name of Gilbert Scott was associated with the work. That fact only makes the vandalism all the more glaring.

It was in the Lady Chapel here that one of the Gilds, probably a branch of the Carmelite Confraternity, kept the " Lady Light " perpetually burning.

In what was the original church there has been erected an exceedingly " modern " altar, which is totally out of keeping with its antique setting. The reredos (1894), which is supposed to illustrate the chief points in the history of the church, has a number of figures arranged in pairs, male and female, on the right and left of the cross. These are : Left—S. Mary Magdalene, S. Frideswide, S. Catharine, and the Blessed Virgin : Right—S. George the Martyr, Hugh of Lincoln, S. Thomas of Canterbury, and S. Simon Stock.

With a characteristic disregard for detail St. Simon Stock is vested in a Dominican habit, white tunic and scapular, with a gilt cloak.

In the June of 1318 a certain writer named Edward presented himself at the transformed palace where the Carmelites had just begun to build their church. He ordered the religious out, as he intended taking up his residence there. He asserted that he was the true king of England, since the present occupant of the throne had been substituted for him when they were both infants. The unfortunate man was arrested and imprisoned in the Bocardo, whence he was brought to Northampton, where the king was at the time residing. Having been several times examined before him, he ever persisted in his assertion without attempting to bring forward any evidence to support his extraordinary claim. In our day he would have been committed to an asylum, but justice was summary in these days.

The prisoner was condemned for treason. Before his death he made the following statement. He said that he was the late king's real son, the present king being the son of the queen's groom. It was common knowledge how the exchange took place. For it happened that on the same night in which the queen brought forth a son the wife of the groom did likewise. Afterwards, through the carelessness and neglect of the nurses, the royal infant fell from his cradle into the neighbouring fire, and on the arrival of the nurses it was found that the child was badly burnt. Fearing he would die, and not daring to inform the king, they substituted the son of the groom for the king's heir, and continued to nurse him, and thus according to the Wise Man (Eccles. iv, 14) the son of a servant was born to a kingdom and high state, whilst the son of the king was born to opprobrium and condemnation. In the end, however, he confessed that he had been addicted to the practise of magic, and had been inspired by the devil to make this foolish assertion of royal birth. He was hanged for treason on the 20th of July.

Beaumont Palace had been built by King Henry I. In a room situated on the spot where the Carmelites erected their campanile Richard I, Coeur de Lion, was born. When the kings came to Oxford they continued to reside at Beaumont, " where some of them yielding up their last breath would enrich these brethren with plentifull legacyes."

The opposition to the Mendicants, and to the Carmelites in particular, which we have mentioned above, and of which we have treated at some length in our chapter on the London Carmelites, was especially bitter at Oxford in 1340 and for many years following. About the year 1357 Richard FitzRalph, a member of the university, and Archbishop of Armagh, Ireland, entered the lists and made himself notorious by his

unrestrained denunciations. A number of followers of a like intemperate speech gathered round him, amongst them being Philip Norris, Doctor of Divinity of Oxford and Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. In his sermons the latter was very virulent, and he further disseminated his spleen in a work entitled: *Against Healthy Beggars.* The authorities of the university ranged themselves against the Mendicants and the legislation, as interpreted by them, was inimical to the interests of the friars, who, consequently, resented their bigoted abuse of authority and disobeyed their ordinances. On the 27th of June, 1360, the following document was addressed to John de Couton, Prior Provincial of the Carmelites in England:[1]

"Whereas among other liberties and privileges granted by charter of the king and his forefathers to the chancellor and university of Oxford, it is granted that the chancellor for the time being may take cognisance of all pleas and contracts arising within the university, one part being a scholar, so that if any being lawfully cited before him on such pleas shall neglect to come, the chancellor may banish them from the university and otherwise proceed against them by ecclesiastical censures, as in such cases is accustomed; and now the king has learned that, though Master Nicholas de Aston, chancellor of the said university, caused Brother John de Norton, a friar of that order, to be summoned before him to answer touching certain trespasses therein committed against the king's peace, according to the king's power to him assigned as aforesaid for the keeping of the peace and for the repose of the scholars studying therein, the said friar refused so to come before him though lawfully warned. Whereupon the chancellor because of his open rebellion,

[1] *Cf.* MSS. Codices, Bodleian Library, Cod. 2629. Hipperoy Cod. 163.

decreed that he should be punished, but he and others of his order scheeming to hinder the execution of that decree, and to impugn the liberties and privileges aforesaid, have caused the chancellor for this his lawful action to be summoned before the court of christianity, within the kingdom or without, in contempt of the king, to the injury of the laws and the crown, and to the manifest avoidance of the said liberties and privileges, whereat the king is moved to anger; prohibition therefore of any attempt against the said chancellor or otherwise to the prejudice of the king or the laws, which may impair the rights, liberties, and privileges above recited, and order to revoke any attempt already made to the contrary."

Oxford was still the centre of the controversy when in the year 1381 the Peasants' Revolt broke out. The enemies of the friars seized on the opportunity to discredit them in the eyes of the authorities, and accused them of seditiously inciting the people. The accusation was so serious, and so likely to do them grave harm, that, on the 18th of February, 1382, the heads of the four Mendicant Orders determined to write a joint letter to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, protesting against the calumnies of the orthodox clergy and the Wicliffites and stating that their chief enemy was Nicholas Hereford, Professor of Holy Scripture, who in a sermon announced that no religious should be admitted to any degree at Oxford. The letter was drawn up by Stephen Patrington, Prior of the Oxford Carmelites, and is inserted in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Joh. Wyclif* of Thomas Netter Walden, the saintly Carmelite Doctor.

This Stephen Patrington was a Doctor of Theology of Oxford, and was Provincial of the English Carmelites from 1399 for fifteen years, when, it is said, that his subjects numbered more than 1,500. He

became very renowned in Oxford University for the number and importance of his works, his extraordinary ability, solid judgment, diverse learning, subtlety in argument, keeness in controversy, and the elegance of his sermons. Being called to London to preach in public against the heretics he made a wonderful impression on his audiences, so that, as Leland testifies, almost an incredible number flocked to hear him and strange stories were told of his great learning and of the fruits of his preachings. In consequence he won high favour with the nobles and with King Henry IV, so that he was regarded as the second man in the kingdom. The king forthwith chose him as confessor to himself, Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales, and his example was followed by many of the nobles. As will be evident from the following document he was a close friend of the Duke of Lancaster.

On the 26th of April, 1399, an inspeximus and confirmation were issued to "Stephen Patryngton, master in divinity, Carmelite Friar, of (1) Letters patent (French) of John, Duke of Lancaster, dated at London, 26 January, in the twentieth year, granting to the said Stephen for life, for good service to the Duke and Duchess, £10 a year from the issues of his lands and lordships in the county of Lincoln, and (2) Letters Patent (French) of Henry, Duke of Hereford, dated at Leicester, 24 December in the twenty-first year, inspecting and confirming the same." On his accession Henry V continued his favour, and, in 1414, sent him as his Commissioner to Oxford to enquire into the errors of and give judgment against the Wicliffites and Lollards. Whilst engaged on this task he was, in 1415, elected Bishop of St. David's as suffragan to Canterbury, by Letters of John XXIII given at Constance. On the 16th of June, of the same year, a mandate was issued "to the escheator of Here-

ford and the marches of Wales adjacent, for the restitution of the temporalities of the bishopric of St. David's to Stephen Patryngton, elect of St. David's, Carmelite, in the priesthood and master in sacred theology, whom the pope has appointed bishop in the place of John, late bishop, translated to be bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and who has renounced all words in the papal bull prejudicial to the king and whose fealty the king has taken." He died at London, October, 1417, and was buried at the White Friars there. His literary works were many and diverse, being more than eighteen, treating of philosophical, theological, ritualistic, and political subjects. One, *Against the Statute of Parliament*, is of interest. This Statute was introduced to forbid the reception of subjects to the Mendicant Orders before the age of twenty-one years. He also wrote *Against the Wicliffites, Against the Lollards, Against Nicholas Hereford.*

Another of their enemies, against whom the Mendicants sought protection, was Henry Crump, a Cistercian of Baltinglass, and Doctor of Divinity of Oxford in 1382. He publicly maintained at Oxford that the friars of the four Orders of Mendicants were not of Divine institution, but contrary to the General Council of the Lateran held under Innocent III. He also held that Pope Honorius was persuaded by the friars, " through pretended and false dreams," to grant them a confirmation, referring evidently to the confirmation of the Carmelite Rule by Honorius III in the year 1226. He was at last forced to abjure these propositions in the Carmelite convent at Stamford, in the presence of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was further charged with heresy by William Andrew, a Dominican, Bishop of Achrony, and later of Meath, for teaching that Christ's Body in the Sacrament of the Altar was only a representation of Christ's Body in

Heaven. Amongst his writings was a work entitled: *Against the Religious Mendicants.*

In this same eventful year of 1382 another famous Carmelite took his place in the foremost rank of the Church's loyal defenders. This apologist was Peter Stokes of the Hitchen convent, a Master of Divinity of Oxford. He was reckoned the first among the learned Doctors of that university in his time. The Archbishop of Canterbury, having commanded the university to suppress the condemned doctrines under pain of excommunication, commissioned Stokes, an old opponent of Wicliff whom he knew "to have laboured more than the others against the Lollards," to examine, refute, and publish the condemnation of the heretical teachings at Oxford on the 23rd of May. This mandate was confirmed by order of the king. The process took place during the Synod held at London under Courtenay's presidency from the 17th of May to the 27th of June. Wicliff's chief defenders were Robert Rugge, Chancellor of the university, and Thomas Brightwell, Doctor of Theology.

Meanwhile Nicholas of Hereford, Philip Repington, Canon Regular, both professors of Sacred Scripture, and John Ashton, Master of Arts, were preaching inflammatory sermons in Oxford and organising in defence of the heretics. C. E. Mallet writes:[1] "Repington was said to have incited the people to rise and spoil the churches. The Chancellor, who came to hear him, went home laughing at his side. Repington's supporters carried weapons under their gowns, and the Mayor supplied the Chancellor with a guard of one hundred men. 'Venerable father,' wrote Stokes to the Archbishop, 'I dare go no further for fear of death.'" And elsewhere we read that the general feeling at

[1] *A History of the University of Oxford*, C. E. Mallet.

Oxford was so strong in Wicliff's favour that Stokes and his brethren went about in fear of assassination, and that when the Carmelite Doctor "determined" against Repington on the 10th of June men were seen in the schools with arms concealed under their clothes. Wicliff himself was very bitter against this most efficient antagonist and, after his condemnation, wrote bitterly against his conqueror, whom he named the "White Dog," referring to his white Carmelite mantle. On being convicted of heresy, Hereford, Repington, and Ashton refused to recant, and sentence of excommunication was pronounced against them. They were, however, brought to a saner attitude of mind later, mainly through the writings of Stokes himself, and, in the end, they actually did recant. Repington afterwards became Bishop of Lincoln, and was, in 1408, created Cardinal by Gregory XII.

Eventually the Crown came to the aid of the Church, and the combination proved too strong for the refractory Chancellor, who was forced at Lambeth to beg pardon on his knees.

The first school opened up by the Carmelites at Oxford was in the old foundation near the site of Gloucester Hall. When Beaumont Palace was taken over two schools were erected, one theological, the other philosophical. "In which and in the old schoole," writes Wood,[1] "divers having highly merited of learning by their readings and acute disputations, too numerous now to be recited, I shall onlie present you with some that have benefited the world with their writings." Then follows a list of thirty-seven names, with a Latin encomium and some biographical notices of each quoted from eminent authors, chiefly Leland and Bale. To these he adds the

[1] *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford.*

names of a number of others less famous. Indeed, probably more great Carmelite names are associated with the Oxford monastery than with any other of the pre-Reformation convents. It certainly produced a large galaxy of notable scholars of whom, besides those already mentioned, we shall mention but a few. Thomas Netter Walden (*cf.* White Friars, London), graduated there and was a most distinguished professor at the university. Others were :

William Ludlington who belonged to the priory of Stamford, graduated Doctor of Theology of Oxford, and became famous for his singular erudition, piety, prudence, and every other virtue. So assiduous was he in the service of God that he preached almost continuously for forty years. He was elected Provincial of England at the Chapter held at Stamford in 1300, and, in that capacity, was summoned to the General Chapter held at Narbonne in 1303 by the Prior General, Gerard of Bologne, during which he resisted with all his might the creation of an Irish Province, independent of England. He afterwards composed a work criticising the Decree of the Chapter by which this change was effected. A great split occurred in the Order in consequence of his determined opposition, so that, in the end, he was punished and silenced. When matters had been settled finally he became Professor of Theology in Paris University, and in 1309, was created Titular Provincial of the Holy Land, of all Palestine, and of the Island of Cyprus. Returning to England he died in the following year at Stamford Priory, where he was buried.

John Bacon, known in religion as Brother John Baconthorpe, and afterwards famous as the " Doctor Resolutus," was born towards the close of the thirteenth century at Baconthorpe in the county of Norfolk. He joined the Carmelites at the convent of Blakeney, or

Snitherely, in Norfolk, graduated as Doctor of both Civil and Canon Laws, as well as of Theology, in the Universities of Oxford and Paris, and was elected Provincial of the English Carmelites in the General Chapters held in the years 1327, 1330, 1333. In the fourth year of his Provincialate he was called to Rome to give his opinion on certain grave matters concerning matrimony. A student of keen intellect, a philosopher and theologian of outstanding merit, he produced an immense number of volumes, no less, in fact, than one hundred and twenty, the most celebrated being those on the Gospels, St. Paul, and the Commentary on the Sentences. He was the chief exponent and defender of the Averroes. In this connection it must be noted that the philosophy of Ibn Roschd (Averroes), an almost superstitious admirer of Aristotle and the only great philosopher that Islamism can boast, had many advocates among the earlier Scholastics. His system attained to importance in the Christian Church as early as the thirteenth century, his theories not being then so evidently anti-Catholic as we find them now, although his pantheistic doctrine of the unity of the Active and Passive Intellect in the Universe and others of his tenets were often repudiated as errors. Although we may trace to its baneful influence the heresies of Fra Dolcino, the Lollards, and others, it was not till long after the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, who, though he refuted the errors of Averroes, always spoke of him as one who should be treated with consideration, that the Arabian philosopher came to be regarded as most inimical to the Catholic Faith. A powerful check was put upon the Averroistic doctrines by the Commentaries on Aristotle of Blessed Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas.

Bacon endeavoured, but without success, to found a new school of theology in his Order, for whilst

opposing the Thomist system he drifted now with Nominalism, now with Scotism. He would seem to have had more influence in Italy than in England. One Paul Pansa, an Italian orator, gives the following vivid word-picture of him: "He was little in stature, but great in wit, and writ such vast volumes that his body could not have borne what his brain produced. No man more learnedly confounded the Jews; none more effectually confuted the Mohammedans, or any other infidels; none more happily silenced heretics; none more solidly exposed the truth of Christ; none more manifestly detected the falsehood and impostures of Antichrist, and represented them in their true colours; none more clearly expounded the Scriptures." And Pitseus writes: "That Order, and England which has produced many of the most learned Carmelites, has scarcely ever produced his equal. Indeed the entire Christian world in that day could not show a more learned man." He died in the year 1346, and was buried in the chapel of the White Friars in Oxford. A list of his works may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*.

Nicholas of Lynn, Norfolk, was a Carmelite at the monastery in the town of that name. He was highly skilled in the Natural Sciences, and was the most celebrated mathematician and astrologist of his time. His particular friend, and the companion of his studies, was John Sombaeus (Somer), an alumnus of the same convent. In his treatise on the Astrolabe Chaucer declares that "the thirde partye shall contayne divers tables (of longitudes and latitudes, and declinations of the sun) after the Kalenders of the reverent clerkes, frere John Somer and frere N. Lenne."

R. T. Gunther writes of Lynn's Calendar [1] that it is

[1] *Early Science in Oxford.*

" arranged for the latitude and longitude of Oxford for the four nineteen-year cycles following the year 1386, *i.e.*, for the period 1386 to 1462. These tables were composed at the request of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, as a continuation of the tables composed by Walter de Elvenden for the three cycles, or 57 years, which ended in 1386 (see MS. Digby, 176). The calendar was in general use at the time of Chaucer and was mentioned by him.

" Kalendarium, ad latitudinem et longitudinem civitatis Oxoniae compositum, pro quatuor cyclis decemnovenalibus immediate sequentibus annum 1386 " (MS. Ashm. 5).

" Nicholas has been identified by Hakluyt, or perhaps rather confused, with an early Artic explorer of 1360. In that year a Franciscan (?) of Oxford, a good astronomer, ' a priest who had an astrolabe,' and presumably one of the Merton School, made a voyage to lands near the North Pole, and described all the wonders of these lands in a book which he gave to the King of England (Edward III)—and inscribed in Latin ' Inventio Fortunatae.' But the unnamed Franciscan astronomer is more likely (sic) to have been some other person than our frere Nicholas—Hugo of Ireland has been suggested, and the confusion may have arisen from his having sailed from the port of Lynn. One member of Merton, John de Vilers, is quoted by Brodrick as having travelled in northern latitudes c. 1336, ' Vilers itineravit ad Boream,' but Mr. P. S. Allen has drawn attention to the fact that ' in partes boreales ' is a frequent expression for visiting Northumberland."

We really have little proof one way or the other, but it would require much more than is supplied by the above unsupported assumptions to disprove the identification of Hakluyt, and to rob Nicholas of Lynn of

the credit of a scientific adventure that was so great an achievement in these far-off days.

This remarkable man was no less proficient in the sacred sciences than in those of the secular or natural order. According to Pitseus he died in 1370, but others say 1390.

He wrote: *Of the Origin of the Carmelite Order, Expositions of the Entire Scriptures,* except the Epistles, the MS. of this work being preserved in Cambridge University; *Kalendarium Antiquum,* seventeen works (at least) on the *Natural Sciences, About the Sick,* and other works.

Richard Maidstone, called after the town of that name in Kent, was an alumnus of the Aylesford convent. He was sent to Oxford, belonged to the society of Merton College, and graduated with the highest honours as Doctor of Theology, being later appointed Cathedral Professor. He proved himself a most able opponent of Wicliff, for he was a deep student of many of the sciences and arts, of Poetry, Rhetoric, Mathematics, Philosophy and Theology, and was withal of a very gentle and humble disposition. But it was as a preacher that he was most successful. His many fine qualities won for him the warm friendship of those highly placed. Amongst others, John, Duke of Lancaster, whose confessor he was, held him in great honour, for he benefited greatly in his private and administrative lives from the wise counsel of this good friar.

John Bloxham was a Carmelite of Chester convent, Doctor of Theology, and Professor at Oxford. Pious, prudent, learned, he was exceedingly well versed in sacred science and philosophy. Because of his known virtues, his moderation and steadfastness, he was elected Provincial of England as successor to John Baconthorpe, which office he held for two and a half

years with the greatest credit. In his youth he had been a very dear friend to Edward II, and, in his old age, coming under the notice of Edward III as a man of exceptional probity, was sent more than once by the king as his Legate to Ireland and Scotland on most honourable missions. He was also Vicar General of the Order for Ireland and Scotland, and held a Chapter in the monastery of Ardee, Louth, where he is said to have introduced legislation for the restoration of discipline which, in his prudence, he caused to be accepted without the least difficulty. He died at Oxford about the year 1334, and was buried at the Friary church. Among his writings were : *Annotations on the Apocalypse, On the Master of the Sentances* (four books), *Disputed Questions, Irish Ordinances,* being the statutes promulgated at Ardee, with commentaries for the guidance of the Irish Carmelites; *Sermons* and *Epistles.*

John Kynyngham was a Carmelite of Ipswich, Suffolk, and a Doctor of Theology of Oxford. He also was of great renown for his learning. At the Provincial Chapter held at Frankford in the year 1393, being then prior of Ipswich, he was elected Provincial, which office he held until his death in 1399. He was also Vicar General of Ireland. The life of this eminent man was saintly, and the humility and meekness of his character caused him to be beloved by all, so that his rule, though most kindly and considerate, was very successful. Amongst other offices of State he was confessor to John of Gaunt. He was one of the first and most successful opponents of Wicliff and his followers, with whom he engaged in controversy at Oxford from the year 1363 till his death, and was, together with the Carmelites John Leavy, Peter Stokes, John Cheselden, Stephen Patrington, and Thomas Leget, mainly instrumental in bringing about the condemnation of the

doctrines of the heresiarch at the Council of London, summoned by William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, in March, 1382. Amongst his numerous works, we might mention the following: *On the Sentances* (four books), *Metaphysics* (thirteen books), *Commentaries* on the Scriptures, *Treatises* on the Incarnation and the Passion of Our Lord and on the Holy Ghost, *Sermons*, and also a controversial work against Wicliff. Leland says that " because of his great erudition he held the first place among the Masters of Oxford, and as a weighty philosopher and holy theologian, he was amongst the best." He died at York on the 12th of May, 1399, being reputed by many a saint.

Walter Hunt, Doctor of Theology and public Professor at Oxford, was present at the Council of Ferara in 1438, and at that of Florence, under Eugenius IV, in 1439. He displayed such a wealth of learning in expounding the Latin view and in controverting the Greeks and the Armenians that he won the admiration of the assembled fathers, as well as the highest praise from John Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople; Joseph, Patriarch of the Greeks; Cardinal Julian S. Angeli, Andrew, Archbishop of Cologne, and many others. On his return to Oxford he spent the remaining forty years of his life in works of piety, in teaching and writing. Under date the 13th November, 1461, we find a " ratification of the estate which Walter Hunt, Doctor of Theology, Carmelite, has as rector or portioner of the parish church of Llannynnys, pertaining to the collation of the Bishop of Bangor. He died on the 28th November, 1478, and was buried in the church of the Oxford Carmelites. The titles of 28 of his works are preserved.

John Wrotham entered the Order at London. On being sent to Oxford he became, first Doctor, then

Professor of Theology, and later, was known as one of the first theologians and preachers of his time. He was at one time Regent of Oxford University, was present at the Council of Stamford and was a writer of note. He died on the 20th February, 1407.

Richard Mysyn, Doctor of Oxford, was remarkable for his piety and learning. On the death of Nicholas, Bishop of Dromore, Ireland, on the 29th July, 1457, he was elected to that see. Thus he was not the immediate successor of Thomas Scrope, as Lezana holds. He died at the Carmelite Convent of York, and is said to have been buried there. He translated into English some works of the famous Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, at the request of Margaret Hellingdon, a Carmelite recluse. This Richard was a reputed saint, and pilgrimages to his tomb were frequent in the fourteenth century. His life in England was partly that of a hermit, partly of a wandering preacher. As a boy he left home to lead a contemplative life in the solitudes of the country, where his days were passed in meditation, prayer, and the practice of the severest penitential works. It is related of him that he was frequently wrapped in ecstasy. Later he travelled over the North of England, preaching, till finally he settled at Hampole, where, in his retreat, he wrote many devotional works. Mysyn's manuscript (MS. 236, sec. XV) is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

John Barmyngham was also a friar of Ipswich convent, of which he was prior, about the year 1440, and again in the period 1448-1449. Leland tells us that he was Master of Theology in both Oxford and Paris Universities. Bale writes of him : " Friar J. B., Doctor at Oxford and Paris, was universally considered one of the most excellent scholars who enlightened England and France by his learning. He was held in such repute

that hardly anyone could be compared to him, whether with regard to his own profession or in respect of other sciences. For he could speak so learnedly, accurately and withal elegantly on almost every subject as if he alone had mastered all branches of Divine and human lore. Amongst other works he wrote four volumes on the Sentences, Sermons, and also on the grievousness of sin." He was buried at Ipswich on the 22nd January, 1449.

John Polstead was born in Suffolk and entered the Carmelite Order at the Ipswich convent when quite young. He was a remarkable figure at Oxford, of which University he was a Doctor of Divinity, for his purity of life, his extensive knowledge, his ability as a lecturer, his effective preaching and his forceful defence of Catholic doctrine. He was a Vicar General under Petrus de Cassa, from 1330 to 1339, and was elected Provincial in 1335, when he was Prior of Lynn, continuing in that office till his death. He wrote more than twenty works, amongst them being: *On the Sentences* (four books), the *Physics of Aristotle* (eight volumes), *Sermons, Indexes on St. Augustine,* and *Letters.* He died on the 4th October, 1341, and was buried at York, the body being enclosed in a magnificent marble sarcophagus placed in the Cathedral in that city.

Godfrey Cornbery was Doctor of Theology of Oxford and Paris, at which Universities he also professed. A man of great learning and piety, John Baconthorpe named him " Doctor Sollennis." He was one of the bitterest opponents of Gerald de Bologne, the General who divided Ireland from the English Province.

John Stanbury, Doctor of Theology, Oxford, was a man of such extraordinary ability that Leland does not hesitate to say that he was " easily the first " of all the English Carmelites of his time. He was held in such

respect by the learned that the Doctors of Oxford heaped every honour upon him, and his influence was such that his friendship was sought by the magnates of his day. Even Henry VI, having learned of his widespread fame, summoned him as his counsellor in the gravest matters of State, but especially in those where religion was concerned. Pitseus wrote of him: "Even his very striking personal appearance, won for him a great amount of influence. For he was handsome of countenance, tall of stature, dignified in manner, grave and composed in bearing, suave and affable in speech, of exceptional ability, mature in judgment, quick in response, prudent in counsel, and clever in execution. In fine, he was in all things, whether you consider his gifts of mind or body, the favoured child of an indulgent Mother Nature." And Godwin adds that among his virtues deserved to be reckoned his fidelity to his king and patron, even in the most adverse circumstances. For, when the latter was grievously wounded in the battle of Northampton on the 19th of July, 1460, Stanbury, through refusing to leave him, was captured and imprisoned for a long time in the castle at Warwick. The king appointed him first Rector of Eton College, which he had erected near Windsor for the education of youth, and shortly after, appointed him royal confessor and preacher. He then named him to the bishopric of Norwich, but yielded to the opposition of William, Duke of Suffolk. In March, 1448, however, Nicholas V promoted him to the see of Bangor, as suffragan to the Archbishop of Canterbury, whence he was translated to the diocese of Hereford in 1453, which he governed till 1474. In the fifteenth century he alone made any addition to the fabric of Hereford Cathedral by erecting a small chantry. He died on the 11th of May, 1474, in the Carmelite Convent of Ludlow; but his body was after-

wards brought to Hereford Cathedral, where it was laid near the high altar. The beautiful little chantry which he built and his tomb still remain, and are worth a visit. The effigy, executed in alabaster, although slightly mutilated, is a valuable example of mediæval vestments. On his tomb the following lines, redolent of the barbaric style of those days, were inscribed :

Marmoris haec fossa tetra petra contegit ossa
STANBERI Pontificis, Carmelitaeque Joannis.
Doctoralis erat sibi regnans fama per orbem,
Criminis, o Christe, petimus quo tegare sordem
Qui Bangorensem lustro rexit bene sedem.
X. bino post I. simul hanc decoravit & aedem
Hunc commisso grege lupum sibi quando fugavit.
Mors cum dente cruento trux tunc bellua stravit.
Ann. MC. quater, L.X. quoque bino
Quatuor his junctis in Templi tempore festo.
Qui legis haec, ora pro Praesule mente benigna
Ut sint absque mora sibe caelica guadia digna.

In view of his very busy administrative life, his literary output was wonderful, for the names of twenty-seven of his works, on a great variety of themes, are preserved.

John Hurlystone, Bachelor of Divinity of Cologne, is the last Carmelite name occurring in the Register of Oxford University. He stood for the degree of Doctor there in December, 1534.

Such men as these were naturally anxious that the high standard of the theological degree, for which Oxford University was famous, should be maintained. Especially were they concerned, as the intellectual attainment required for the Doctorate of Theology was in danger of being brought into disrepute, since it was sometimes obtained by influential persons for favourites

who were not otherwise qualified for it. To this end they addressed a petition to the Cardinal Protector of the Order. The result of the petition was as follows:

"In 1396 Cardinal Landulph, protector of the Order, in reply to the complaints of the English friars that some members of the Order in England obtained the degree of D.D. without being fit for it, decreed that every candidate should (1) study arts for seven years; (2) study theology for seven years; (3) lecture on the sentences for a year in a university; (4) as principle lecturer, lecture on the sentences for two years; (5) lecture in the next year on the Bible, and (6) respond to the doctors in the wonted manner and afterwards proceed to the degree of master as is customary. These decrees were confirmed by Boniface IX in 1397." [1]

The library of the Oxford monastery was a very valuable one, as might naturally be expected, considering the great number of eminent scholars who studied and wrote there. Therein were preserved the works of many famous Carmelites; those, for instance, of Baconthorpe, and many others, of which Leland gives a catalogue that is, however, imperfect. Apparently, the library received very special attention from those learned men, for it is related that the books were carefully preserved and "kept far more free from dust and wormes than those in the convent of the Dominicans or Franciscans." Wood, who is responsible for this statement, adds: "What became of them at the dissolution I know not, unless they were conveyed to some College Libraries."

The same reliable authority tells us that the church attached to White Friars, Oxford, was large and beautiful, "with a fair steeple adjoyning containing bells, at first built as 'tis possible by King Henry I, or

[1] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England.*

else by some of his successors." "Which church they obtaining with all the furniture therein with the mansion itself, and several additions made to it: and the honour to have many noble and worshipful persons, as also learned clerks, to be buried therein." [1]

Amongst the benefactors of White Friars, Oxford, was the Carmelite John Mascall, Bishop. It is also on record that Henry VIII gave them £13/6/8 in the year 1512 for the repair of their church.

[1] *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford.*

CHAPTER XII

WHITE FRIARS—IPSWICH

"Oh! to gaze
Upon the pillar'd wrecks—lone monuments
Of times that were, but are not, 'till all things,
By deep association of the heart,
Turn to its loneliness, and weep around!"

The Priory at Ipswich, Suffolk, was established in 1278-9. It would seem to have been an off-shoot from the Norwich Priory.

The authorities are divided in their opinion as to the original founder. Dugdale mentions Sir Thomas de Loudham; Speed gives Lord Bardesley (Bardolf?), Sir Jeffrey Hadley, and Sir Robert Norton.

That the landed property of this house became eventually considerable will be evident from the following notices found in the Calendar of Patent Rolls:—

"February 6, 1297. Licence after inquisition *ad quod damnum* made by the sheriff of Suffolk, for the Carmelite Friars of Ipswich, to enclose a lane called 'Erodesland' twenty-six perches long and eight feet broad, for the enlargement of their dwelling-place."

"February 2, 1321. Licence for the Prior and Carmelite Friars of Ipswich to acquire in mortmain 12 plots of land adjacent to their dwelling for enlargement."

"December 4, 1341. Pardon to the Carmelite Friars of Ipswich for acquiring in fee, without the licence of King Edward I, divers plots of land in Ipswich, viz.,

from John son of Seamus Herodes a plot of land containing 120 feet in length and 30 feet in breadth; from Roger Helewys a plot of land containing 120 feet in length and 32 feet in breadth; from Ida Fallenden and John Thurston a plot of land containing 130 feet in length and 70 feet in breadth; from Thomas son of John de Ketleberge a plot of land containing 170 feet in length and 70 feet in breadth; from Roger le Meneter a plot of land containing 30 feet in length and 26 feet in breadth; from John Seivate and William his son a plot of land containing 78 feet in length and 26 feet in breadth; from Joan Goyelisford a plot of land containing 130 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth; and from William Pellyng a plot of land containing 100 feet in length and 42 feet in breadth; all which plots are adjacent to their area; with restitution of same for the enlargement of their said area."

Further additions were made in 1329 and, lastly, in 1396 when John de Reppes, prior, purchased two messuages.

That the convent was of considerable importance is evident from the fact that Provincial Chapters met there frequently. At the Chapter held in the year 1300 William Ludlington, then prior of Ipswich, was elected Provincial, from which office he was afterwards deposed because of his leadership of the opposition to the General's scheme for creating a separate Irish Province.

The convent must have been fairly large, since Henry VI and his suite were entertained there in the year 1452.

The church, which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was rebuilt towards the end of the fifteenth century, and was consecrated in 1477 by Thomas Scrope, Carmelite Bishop of Dromore.

This monastery produced very many famous men. They joined the Order, were professed and received

their early training here. They afterwards were sent to the Carmelite houses in the various university cities to complete their studies or to occupy professional chairs. We have given biographical notices of most of these in the chapters dealing with the university foundations, and have now but to add a few additional names.

It is unusual to find a father and son members of the same religious community. This actually happened at Ipswich. Richard de Yella had joined the Order in this house after the death of his wife. He, later, became prior and held that office at the very time when his son, Thomas, joined the community.

Thomas de Yella was born at Suffolk. Brought up from his earliest infancy in the love of God he, as a mere youth, bound himself by vow to enter religion, in fulfilment of which pious promise he took the habit of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the Ipswich convent and was professed there. One might naturally have expected that the son would have taken advantage of his father's position in the community to seek temporal favours for himself. But it was quite otherwise. The spirit that had urged the elder to make a great sacrifice ensured a like treatment for Thomas as for all others. The same spirit of integrity had been instilled into the son, who became distinguished for his strict obedience, his exact observance of religious discipline, and his humility, so that he soon became an example of true piety to all the brethren. His ability also was great, and he soon became a master of all the liberal arts and of the science of philosophy, so that he was sent to Cambridge to pursue his studies. Having graduated as Doctor, he was elevated to the theological chair in that University, where his lectures were gladly attended and received unstinted praise, so that he became popularly known as " Chrysolithus," the Gold Stone, a generous recognition of the brilliant intellect

and beautiful delivery which were an invaluable asset to that great centre of learning. In the dispute over the division of the English Province Thomas Yella followed the leadership of the Provincial, William Ludlington, paying, like him, the penalty of an uncompromising attitude. The superiors dismissed him to Lower Germany, where, at Bruges, he professed theology about the year 1290. This good man was not the type to allow an humiliation to dishearten him. On the contrary, he turned every circumstance to advantage, and his spare time was devoted to study, taking out his Doctor's degree at Paris, and to preaching, for he went throughout the length and breadth of Flanders announcing the word of God with great profit to souls.

Returning shortly afterwards to England, he died at the Carmelite convent of Ipswich, leaving behind him works by which his sterling worth and immense knowledge was transmitted as a legacy to the future generations. Amongst these were the following: *Lectures on Sacred Scripture, Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John, Theological Questions, Sermons to the People.*

Another friar who reflected much credit on this house was John of Bury St. Edmunds. Father Zimmerman writes of him that he "rendered the monastery at Ipswich celebrated by his own erudition and culture. Of a keen intellect, great eloquence, and full of solicitude, and withal pious, devout, and humble, he did even more good by his exemplary life than by his teaching. Besides many commentaries on Holy Scripture, he devoted special care to the Gospel of St. Luke, and left also numerous notes on various texts. He died at Ipswich *circa* 1350." He was instituted to the living at Semer, near Ipswich, in 1313, on the presentation of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds.

Richard Hadley, S.T.P., was an author of note and wrote certain important works. He was buried at Ipswich on the 1st of April, 1461.

Thomas Lavenham wrote a commentary on Aristotle's Physics. He was among the first Fellows of All Saints' College, Oxford.

John Kiningham was educated at Ipswich. He was sent thence to Oxford, where he took out the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was greatly favoured by John, Duke of Lancaster. He died at York and was buried there, in 1399.

As in the case of the other Carmelite monasteries, eminent and pious people were very anxious to be laid to rest among the friars. The following are said to have been buried at Ipswich : Sir Thomas de Loudham, one of the reputed founders of the monastery ; his son, and John de Loudham, Esq. ; Margaret Coldvyle, Gilbert Denham, Esq., and Margaret, his wife, who was a daughter of Edward Hastings ; Friars John Wilbe, John Hawle, Richard Hadley, John Balsham, and the two friars John Barmyngham.

John Balsham was born about the year 1357, was ordained deacon at Cambridge on the 18th of February, 1379-80, and became Bishop of Argyle, but resigned his dignity in 1420, and died at Ipswich in 1425.

Vincent Redstone mentions some interesting bequests made to the friars :

" John Drayles in his Will, already mentioned, made a request that he should be buried within the chapel of S. John the Baptist, near the body of William Debenham, merchant, and desired that the friars should have 105 marks yearly to sing Mass for his soul. His name was to be woven on the friar's surplice.

" Henry Fulslo bequeathed a barrel of beer to each of the three orders of Ipswich friars, 1486.

" Reynold Jacob of S. Nicholas' parish desired that four friars should bear him to the church and then to the grave, and have honestly for their labours. 1522.

" John Whelmeton, tailor, bequeathed to every friar in Ipswich a cloak, 1495."

The same writer continues: " At the dissolution of the monasteries the Carmelites petitioned Cromwell for his assistance. They had been compelled to sell several messuages for £28, and the Visitor allowed them only an annual pittance of £4. One Copping, himself not in affluent circumstances, withheld from them their dues. This Copping may have been a relative of the George Copping by whom the 'Ancient House' of Ipswich is supposed to have been erected, near the site of the old friary."

The suppression was effected by the ex-friar, Richard Ingworth, Bishop of Dover, in November, 1538.

The vandals of the Reformation made very sure that the destruction of this monastery would be complete. Not so much as a stone of it is left above the ground to show the space which it once occupied. About May, 1898, excavations for building purposes were being carried out on part of the land once belonging to the convent. Miss Nina Frances Layard took the opportunity of examining the site and taking notes of the various objects of interest which the workman's spade brought to light. An old rubble wall was discovered a foot or two below the surface. " The massive masonry," writes Miss Layard, " composed of undressed flints irregularly placed and held together with a great thickness of mortar, spoke of the rude but enduring workmanship of mediæval times." The following are excerpts from a paper by Miss Layard in the Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology (1899):

" An ornamental glazed tile, a broken mug of quaint

pattern, and a delicately sculptured figure in white marble, were among the most interesting of the finds that could be distinctly associated with the convent. The figure is robed in rich garments with girdle and tassels, and is, doubtless, of ecclesiastical design. It is unfortunately fractured, so that all that remains is from the waist downwards. It is now in the possession of the Ipswich museum.

" While carefully watching the earth as it was being thrown out by the workmen I picked up several Nuremberg tokens, and among them a metal medallion of very beautiful device and evidently of great antiquity. The design, which is a pièta, represents the Virgin seated or kneeling with the dead Christ upon her knee. A nimbus encircles her head, and her attitude is suggestive of deep and reverent sorrow. The rigid appearance of the prostrate body is finely portrayed. In the back-ground is seen the cross with scroll and nails, and the medallion is surrounded with a cable-patterned margin.

" The custom of seeking burial within the precincts of the Convents, which must often have resulted in considerable overcrowding of the burial grounds, finds an illustration on this site, where a very large number of remains were discovered. Besides the two orderly rows of skeletons, about ten in number, which were lying undisturbed seven feet below the surface, many others irregularly placed as though interfered with after burial were found a few feet deeper down, and it was impossible to turn over the soil anywhere at this depth without coming upon ever fresh indications of the use to which the ground had been put. In other parts pits could be traced filled with alternate layers of lime and black mould, suggesting the adoption of a more speedy method of disposing of the dead. The pits were of large size, one of them being 17 feet deep,

and measuring 20 feet by eight at the upper part, and narrowing at the base to eight feet by five.

" The sites from which these interesting relics of the past were obtained are now built over. A high red brick structure already covers that part of the Convent area which for too brief a space was laid open to the eye of the antiquary."

CHAPTER XIII

WHITE FRIARS—COVENTRY

"Ye holy walls, that still sublime,
Resist the crumbling touch of Time;
How strongly still your form displays
The piety of ancient days!
As though your ruins hoar and grey
Ruins yet beauteous in decay,
The silvery moonbeams trembling fly;
The forms of ages long gone by,
Crowd thick on fancy's wandering eye,
And wake the soul to musings high."

The Carmelite foundation at Coventry dates back to 1342, for, on the 24th of February of that year, Edward III licensed William de Ingleton and Nicholas Sproten, chaplains, to grant one messuage and ten acres of land, held by the Benedictines of Coventry, to the Provincial Prior of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel for the purpose of building a church in honour of the Virgin Mary and a stone house for a community of that Order. The house was erected by Sir John Poulteney, knight, who had the distinction of having been five times Lord Mayor of London, and was a builder of note. As late as Dugdale's time the coat-of-arms of this benefactor remained engraven over the gates of the convent.

The old postern was situated in the present Gosford Street, at, or near, the point where the present White Friars' Lane enters the street, and the road from this gate formed a fairly direct line to the church of the Carmelites.

On the 28th of February, 1344, Edward III granted a licence enabling the Prior of Coventry (Benedictine) to give to the Prior and brethren of the White Friars facilities for the enlargement of their house, and for the making of a road from the street then named "Muchalpark Street." The gateway that opened on this street is still in existence. In 1384 Lord Basset of Drayton bequeathed to the Carmelites of Coventry the sum of £300 for the enlargement of the church. This was an extraordinarily large sum in that day, and shows that the church must have been either very extensive or very beautiful.

That the convent itself was large and well appointed appears from the fact that on several occasions the kings and queens of England were entertained there whilst visiting the city. The community was also held in much respect, and had great influence both with the civil and military powers, whilst the different city guilds were directed by the friars, and held their religious feasts and social functions at the convent. Thus in 1450 the "Carpenters' Company had a Collation at the White Friars," and again in 1477 and 1507. The Pinners and Tylers Company went annually to the White Friars on St. Stephen's Day, and in 1515 the Smiths' Company held a great feast there.

Although not to the same extent as the great university monasteries, yet this house produced a goodly number of eminent men. Perhaps the most famous of these was William of Coventry, popularly known as "Claudus Conversus," the crippled lay-brother, because of a physical defect. Pitseus writes of him: "But this William, however he may have halted in walking, did not halt in the way of virtue and erudition; and although deformed in body he was not deformed in mind. For he was of remarkable ability, ornate in style, of mature judgment, and assiduous in probing

the mysteries of the sacred writings, fortunate in discovering their hidden meaning, clever, clear, and precise in his explanations. Whatever he said, he said eloquently; whatever he wrote, he wrote in a polished style. A master of all the beauties of the Latin language, as a youth in the world and a young man in the monastery he never tired of studying poetry, rhetoric, dialectics and the best histories, so that he might cultivate a perfect Latin style. All his writings breathe elegance, are redolent of piety, and are evidently the works of one steeped in learning." He is said to have flourished in 1330 by Fabricus, but in 1360 according to the general opinion. On the other hand, some say that he died in this latter year. He wrote many works, the names of nine being preserved. Among these are: *Of the Advent of the Carmelites to England, Of the Rule of the Carmelites and its Confirmation, The Shield of the Carmelites,* and others. He was, probably, buried in this convent.

Another remarkable friar of Coventry was William Lubbenham. Born at Coventry he entered the Carmelite Order at the convent there. On being sent to Oxford to pursue his studies he graduated as Doctor of Theology. He was elected Provincial, but for some reason only held that high office for one year, 1353, being recognised as a man of great learning, prudence, and wisdom in administration. Among the works he wrote we have the titles of two, both dealing with philosophical questions. He died at Coventry in 1361 and was buried in the monastery.

John White, Bachelor of Theology, was also a member of this community. He died here in 1496.

John Bird was born here, graduated as Doctor of Theology at Oxford, and was twice elected Provincial of England. The first occasion was in the year 1516,

when he ruled for three years. He was succeeded by Robert Lesbury. His second election was in 1522, after which he held office for sixteen years. In other words, he was Provincial at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, when he became a renegade. In recognition of certain sermons which, according to Bale, he preached in 1537 against the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff in the presence of the king and the magnates of the realm, Henry made him Bishop of Bangor and later of Chester. He repented, however, of his perfidy, was deprived of his bishopric in 1554, returned to the Church's fold, and died in 1556 in Chester. The names of four of his works are preserved. In his time he had been a member of the Smiths' Company and the Trinity Guild of Coventry.

We are indebted for the following particulars to T. F. Tickner, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., of Coventry, who, having studied the history of the old monastery, its structure, and the present state of repair, prepared a paper on the subject entitled "The Home of the Carmelites or White Friars in Coventry," which he kindly lent us for use in this work. Being the research work of an expert, we take the liberty of inserting it in its original form:

"The portion of the cloister left standing constituted the East walk, which is 160 feet long by a width of 12 feet. The space enclosed originally by the four walks (the cloisters), the north, south, east, and west, was known as the Cloister Garth. There is room between or near the windows of the cloisters for the carrells or small boarded enclosures which were usually erected to serve as studies for the brothers. One was placed against each window or each light, according to the character of the window, and was just large enough to contain a seat and a desk for one person. Their object was to afford the friars some protection from the cold

of the cloister during the long hours of reading and transcribing. The date of the introduction of these carrells is unknown, but they were in use in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

"The style of the old buildings which are left is of the Decorated Period, the general style of the fourteenth century, but fragments occasionally appear which are of a later date. It is recorded that in 1506 Thomas Bond bequeathed twenty marks towards finishing the Cloister. The Church adjoined the north cloister and it is said to have been perpendicular in style. It was taken down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the materials used in the erection of a house for a Mr. Edward Boughton.

"To the east of the East walk, and approached therefrom, were probably the more important of the other buildings, such as the Chapter House and the Infirmary. The kitchens and other offices were erected very likely in connection with the South walk of the Cloister. On the floor above the existing East walk is the dormitory, the stone staircase from which formerly descended direct into the church.

"The design of the cloister was purely original so far as is known, and this fact greatly increases one's interest in its architectural features which are of exceptional beauty.

"The White Friars' Mill existed on the River Sherbourne, at the bottom of the hill, and near the round tower incorporated in the City wall, and just at the angle thereof. In 1344, two years after the establishment of the Friary, Edward III granted a Charter of Incorporation to the city and, in 1365, the first stone of the city wall on this side of the town was laid at the New Gate, close by the convent, by the ninth Mayor, Richard de Stoke, founder of the Guild of St. John.

"The friars had requested that the wall should

enclose their establishment, for their greater security, and they contributed the ground on which the said wall was to be erected as also the protecting ditch, subsequently helping extensively in its erection and maintenance.

"There are indications of a large archway which is on a line with the groined ceiling of the cloister walk, which appears to have been continued, at right angles to the present walk, towards the east. Nearer to the south there was also a small doorway. These may be seen from the east side of the ancient building. On the south side of the quadrangle is a much enriched doorway which, it is thought, was removed from another position and placed where it now stands by John Hales, a subsequent owner of the building. This assumption is chiefly founded on the comparative coarseness of the masonry.

"Outside the boundary of the White Friars' property, and to the south-west, was the Lady Tower. It is supposed to have been exactly opposite to the old Salutation Inn, and therein, no doubt, is to be found the origin of the name. In the tower was a statue of the Virgin, and travellers used to stop in the road, opposite this tower, to salute her. I believe the site of the Lady Tower was at the east corner of White Friars' Lane, where it now enters Much Park Street, and the house at that corner was probably built on its foundations.

"The friary was surrendered on October 1st, 1539, by Hugh Burtley (others have Hugh Burnby), who was then prior, with 13 brothers, and the friars were driven forth without any pensions or allowances whatever. The entire property was then granted to Sir Ralph Sadler.

"In 1573 there is a record that the Corporation sold to the Trinity Churchwarden a great bell taken from

the White Friars' Church. This bell was then placed in Trinity steeple.

"The MS. Annals state that when the Coventry Cross was built in 1541 the images of the saints with which it was decorated were brought from the White Friars.

"Sir Ralph Sadler sold the buildings to John Hales, a great speculator in monastic property, who afterwards entertained Queen Elizabeth here in A.D. 1565. Mr. Hales founded the Free Grammar School in the church. It was afterwards transferred to the Church of the Hospital of St. John, now known as the old Grammar School. There is a record which states that to this place he removed the richly carved range of stalls with which the White Friars' Church had been fitted up, a range which, in its complete state, was one of the most extensive in the kingdom. Other records state that Mr. Hales, who for many years occupied these buildings as his mansion, quarrelled with the citizens, which was the reason for the removal of the school to the Church of St. John's Hospital. A projecting porticus at the east end of the North Walk was used by the Hales family as a chapel. . . . .

"Having passed through various hands the property was sold in 1801 to the Directors of the Poor, and the Cloisters and dormitory were at once used as part of the Poor Law Institution. At the suggestion of the late Mr. W. G. Fretton, F.S.A., in 1889, the Board of Guardians had the old Cloister gateway opened out and protected as it may now be seen. Successive Boards of Guardians have taken considerable care of the ancient and beautiful remains of which they became the custodians.

"I have located on my plan of the London Road Institution as now constituted, the positions of the burial grounds at the time of the occupation by the

White Friars. They are in the usual places for burial of the different sections of the community in such an establishment. One of these is indicated on an old plan in the Mander Collection at the Gulson Library and is undoubtedly the Friars' cemetery. The other was discovered when the present tramp wards were erected in 1891 and the bones then found were re-interred near a tablet which records the fact, and which is fixed on one of the garden walls. The latter was undoubtedly the burial place of the laity."

Under date 1512 we find Letters of Fraternity granted from this convent by the Prior Provincial in favour of Sir Henry Willouby and his wife. It was published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (1911) in its Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton, preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire. The original is printed in black letter on paper, the names being inserted in ink, with an engraved border and initial representing the Virgin Mary with the infant Saviour in her arms. The following is a translation from the original Latin :

" Brother Robert, Prior Provincial and servant of the friars of the Order of Blessed Mary, Mother of God and of Mount Carmel, by which title our Order is in a special manner blessed, dwelling in England, to our beloved in Christ Sir Henry Willowzby and Lady Helen his wife, salvation and through the suffrages of our prayers, eternal happiness.

" Being well aware of the sincere devotion which you, in your reverence for Christ and His glorious Virgin Mother, Mary, have shown towards our Order, we are anxious to repay you by commending you to the Lord for the same, in so far as we may have influence at the throne of God, especially in the things most necessary to salvation.

" Be it known to all the faithful in Christ that our

most holy fathers and lords in Christ, Adrian II, Stephen V, Sergius III, John X, John XI, Sergius V, and Innocent IV, by Divine Providence, have, in recompense for devotion to the Blessed and Glorious Virgin Mary, special protectrix and patroness of the Carmelite Order, mercifully granted to all the faithful in Christ who are truly penitent, who have confessed and are contrite, and who shall have received the Letters of Fraternity of the said Order, the remission of a third part of all their sins. Again Julius II confirmed, approved, and renewed, all the indulgences granted by his predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, to our said Order, and in addition granted to all the faithful, truly penitent, confessed, and contrite, who have received the same Letters of Fraternity an Indulgence of thirty years and thirty quarantines.

"We, therefore, by these present Letters of Fraternity, in consideration of your singular piety, grant you participation for ever, as well in life as in death, in all the Masses, prayers, fastings, vigils, preachings, abstinences, indulgences, labours, and all the other good works, which the mercy of our Saviour may cause to be performed by our brethren in the said province.

"To this we add, conceding it as a special favour, that when you are deceased, your memory shall be recalled in our Provincial Chapter, and the same will be done for you as it is customary to do for the deceased brethren of our Order.

"In testimony of which we attach our provincial seal to these present Letters of Fraternity.

"Given in the Convent of Coventry, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twelve.

By me

BROTHER TH. VICARS.

"The sum of the indulgences granted by the different Roman Pontiffs to the confratres, consorers, and bene-

factors of our holy Order of Carmel amount to 5023 years and 80 days."

Traces of the seal are to be found at the foot of the document.

The following letters in reference to the suppression of Coventry convent are interesting:

20 September, 1538. The Mayor and Aldermen of Coventry to Cromwell.

It is reported that the Grey and White Friars of Coventry are to be suppressed. Their churches can ill be spared; for in time of plague sick people resort to them to hear divine service. There are but two parish churches in the town, and no small number of Christian people belong to them. If in time of plague sick people resorted to the parish churches they would infect the whole city. We beg you therefore to intercede with the king that those two churches of friars remain, the religious persons thereof to be reformed at the King's pleasure.

20 October, 1538. The Mayor and Aldermen of Coventry to Cromwell.

The King's commissioner, Dr. London, is now at Coventry to suppress the two houses of friars for their demerits; and though we have asked him to forbear till we should hear from your Lordship about leaving the churches, or at least one of them, standing, we find him very hard. For all we can do, he has defaced the church of the Grey Friars and begun to do the like with the White Friars, but by very great entreaty we have got him to stay as to the latter till we have sent to your Lordship for help. We beg you to intercede with the King that we may obtain the same, with the houses and gardens, else it will be a danger and decay to the city.

A rental of the house and gardens to the White Friars of Coventry is appended to this letter, viz., of thirty-one houses and eleven gardens specified by tenants' names or otherwise. Total, £5 15*s.* 8*d.*

22 October, 1538. Dr. John London to Cromwell.

Here I have laid down the idolatry of two chapels where offering was to an image of Our Lady and to a rode. There is a very evil custom in Coventry, grounded upon the insatiable covetousness of the monks. In all Coventry be but two parish churches, which stand with the priory as it were in one churchyard in the heart of the city. When the pestilence reigns, the curates of both churches collect the corpses at the great church door of the priory in the cemetery, and there leave them till after *dirige* or mass in the parish church. Then a rich man pays a noble or £10 (qu. 10*s.*?), or a poor man 12*d.*, for assoylement, and all, even if they be 20, and all died of the plague, must lie in the porch till the monk with his stole give them (as it is called) assoylement (the absolution). I have advertised the prior to leave it, and you will do well to annul it. If the town could obtain the White Friars' church and churchyard it would be a more wholesome burial ground, for it lies out of the heart of the city.

31st of October, 1538. John Hales to Mr. Hanby.

The soil of the church, churchyard, and choir of the late White Friars in Coventry, is worth yearly, after the buildings are defaced and the ground made clean.—6*s.* 8*d.*

The surrender was made on the 1st of October, 1538, by Hugh Burtley (Burnby), prior, to John London, and included the house, church, and all the possessions of the monastery in England. As has been said, the

property in Coventry passed eventually into the hands of the Poor Law Guardians, and to the present day it is used as the male paupers' union.

The beautiful cloisters are almost perfect and are well worth a visit, not only from those who are stirred by architectural beauty, but by all students of the Protestant Reformation and its baneful consequences. The present sordid associations of this Gothic splendour present a most vivid picture contrasting light and shade in a startling combination. The setting is the mellowed old-gold of this arcaded friars'-walk, proudly asserting the superior intelligence of the religious who planned it and carried their ideal into masterly execution, grandly proclaiming the Christian chivalry of the Middle Ages that respected a Christ-like poverty and threw open its marble portals with a delicate welcome to the unfortunate. The human element in the picture is supplied by the uniformed, crushed, and shamed products of a religious revolution that was begotten in lust and avarice; that dethroned the Man of Sorrows; that turned out the vice-gerents of God's charity on the highways and shed their blood amidst scenes of intensest pathos; that made poverty a crime and branded the poor with the shameful name of " paupers " whilst herding them, friendless and broken, into public institutions where they knew no sympathy; that crushed the spirit of Catholic and " Merrie England " and covered it with the devilish pall of soul-destroying greed and religious hatred. Poor broken-hearted paupers, sorry products of an effete and irreligious civilization, if you only knew the historical truth, the monastic refuge, the divine healing, the respect, not an unwilling toleration, for the poor of Christ that was extended to your ancestors in those very cloisters of the Carmelites of Coventry, how you would yearn for the days when the successor of St.

Peter, not Henry, nor Elizabeth, nor Edward, nor James, was the spiritual head of the Church in England.

It may not be out of place to relate here another association with this religious house after its suppression. It is to be found in a letter, dated the 30th of November, 1569, from Queen Elizabeth to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, relating to the hapless Queen of the Scots :[1]

" By your letters sent the 25th of this month we perceive that you brought the Scottish Queen to Coventry. We thank you for your carefulness and circumspection in the fast conducting of her hither. Considering the faithfulness of our subjects in that city and in the country round about, and finding no likelihood of the rebels coming forward, but rather of their retiring northwards, as we certainly understand, we see not any occasion why there should be any great numbers in charge with you than were at Tutbury, and except you know of any manifest or probable occasion to continue such extraordinary numbers we will that you forthwith discharge them. We would have you to consider, that though upon a sudden, upon doubts conceived of her safe keeping at Tutbury, we directed you to bring her to that city, being well peopled with good subjects, and walled, yet we do not much like to have her kept in any such city, but rather to be in some house of strength, as we shall shortly think of. We fynd strang that she should be placed in an inn very unconveniently even for names sake; and what might be the cause we cannot guess, considering we know how commodious a house that is there where we ourselves did lodge, commonly called ' the Frears,' and if any let had been why that should not have been meet, yet there are great plenty of merchants' houses in that city. Until we hear

[1] *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, C.P., Vol. IV.

some reasonable cause why an inn was chosen, we cannot be satisfied. If she be lodged in an inn our pleasure is that she be removed either to the Freary, or to some other convenient house. We think it good that you, the Earl of Shrewsbury, take charge of her, and for a time we mean that you, the Earl of Huntingdon should personally assist, as you did at Tutbury, and that both of you lodge, if it may be, in the same house where the Queen of Scots shall be. Forsee that there be no access of any person to her upon any pretence, nor that (she) be suffered to be seen abroad to any company. We shall by our next advertise you what shall be further done for placing her out of that city."

CHAPTER XIV

OTHER ENGLISH FOUNDATIONS
(Thirteenth Century)

"Chapels of cedarn fragrance, and rich gloom
Poured from empurpled panes on either hand:
Cool pavements, carved with legends of the tomb;
Grave haunts, where we might dream and understand."

One of the very earliest Carmelite foundations in England was at BRADMERE in Norfolk. It also was established by Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, the founder of the Aylesford convent, in the year 1240.

The convent of BURNHAM NORTON, in Norfolk, was founded in 1241 by Sir William Calthorp and Sir Ralph Hemenhale. On the 16th of June, 1290, licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain by Walter de Calthorp to the prior and Carmelite friars of Brunham (sic) of a rood of meadow for the enlargement of their place. This house was of some importance. In the year 1486 a Provincial Chapter was held here. It possessed forty acres of land in Burnham Norton, fourteen acres in Burnham Westgate, and fourteen in Burnham Sutton. The house was surrendered in the general suppression of 1538. Tristram Teshe writing to Cromwell says: "The houses are not sold, but stand as they were left by the visitor on account of a letter written by Mr. Southwell to Will Buttes, his deputy, ordering him not to meddle as Sir Richard Gresham had the preferment of the said house at the king's

hands." On the 17th of May, 1538, one Jane Calthorp, probably a renegade descendant of the founder, Sir William Calthorp, wrote to Cromwell asking him to obtain licence from the king for her to purchase a "house of White Friars, near Polsted Hall, in Burneham, Norfolk, which manor the king granted to her and her heirs male. There are only four friars, and being too poor to sustain the charge and repairs of the house, they are willing to part with it. She has no house to live in but one poor house in Norwich, from which she is often driven by the plague." Thus did the grasping "reformers" vie with each other in their greed for a part of the plunder.

The YORK convent, in Yorkshire, was founded in June, 1253, by Henry III. The Percys of Northumberland, as heirs of the Veseys, were reckoned the second founders of this friary, and were among its benefactors, thus continuing the generosity of their predecessors. The Carmelites settled first at Botham, near Horsefair, outside the city proper. Their stay here, however, would seem to have been very short, for we find a grant being made to them, on the 18th of October, 1258, by the mayor and bailiffs, with the consent of the king, of an area of land measuring six perches in length by four perches in breadth outside the wall of their court near the stone cross of York, which court they were anxious to enlarge. And on the 16th of October, 1295, licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain by William de Vesey, "who is going to Gascony on the king's service, for the saving of his soul and the souls of his ancestors, to the Prior and Carmelite Friars of York, of a messuage in Staynbogh in that city." Staynbogh, or Stonebow Lane, became their permanent dwelling, and here they remained till the suppression. A Provincial Chapter was held here in the year 1260. The new church was in course of erection in 1300, whilst

the friary cemetery was consecrated in 1304. On the 20th of September, 1314, licence was granted after inquisition *ad quod damnum* for the alienation in mortmain of the land in "Bouthum-by-York," where the Carmelites first dwelt, to Master Robert de Pikeryng, king's clerk, dean of the church of St. Peter, York, so that he might assign it to a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in a chapel to be called St. Mary's, which Pikeryng intended to build. These Masses were to be offered "for the king's progenitors, kings of England, for the soul of the king and the souls of his heirs, and also for the souls of the said Master Pikeryng, his ancestors, heirs, and of all Christians." The grant was made in consideration of two hundred Masses to be celebrated. Another grant followed on the 2nd of October of certain messuages and plots of land in the street called "Mersk," adjacent to their dwelling, which property the king held of the gift of Geoffrey de Sancto Quinto, for the enlargement of their dwelling; whilst, the next day, a licence was issued, "by reason of the affection which the king bears to the prior and Carmelite friars in the city of York, for them to construct a Quay in their own soil within their dwelling place upon the bank of the king's stew of the 'Fosse,' which they may hold to themselves and their successors for ever, and further that they may have one boat in the stew to carry to their said dwelling place stone, brushwood, and other necessaries of theirs, as well as under the bridge of the Fosse as elsewhere in the stew." [1]

In the Middle Ages it was customary to receive youths into the religious houses so as to train them from an impressionable age in the practise of the regular life. That this custom sometimes led to an

[1] Patent Rolls, York, Memb. 17.

amount of trouble will be evident from the following document, dated the 2nd of March, 1358:[1]

"On behalf of Richard, son of John de Thornton citizen and spicer of York, it has been shown that he, when within the years of puberty, was lately ensnared and induced by some of the friars of the house of the Carmelites in York, insomuch that by their persuasion he took the habit of the said friars in their house, and they fraudulently induced him so that they made him profess the order within the years of puberty *de facto*, although of right they could not, and although he within the time of his puberty and before the completion of the fourteenth year of his age laid aside the habit and went forth from the house and order, as was lawful for him to do, as is asserted. Yet the prior and friars try to take him for an apostate. And the king has taken the said Richard into his protection and special defence, not willing that by colour of any licence to the friars of the said order of taking apostates of the order, granted by the king, or any mandate thereof directed to others, the said Richard be taken or disturbed until the matter between them have been more fully discussed."

Another document, dated the 19th of July, 1386, is interesting if rather startling in its nature, being a pardon to friar John Wy for the death of friar John Harald, killed twelve years ago in the conventual house of the Carmelite friars in the city of York, and of consequent outlawry.[2]

This house would seem to have been of considerable importance, for about the time when the cemetery was consecrated it housed as many as twenty-four friars besides the prior, William Thorp; whilst between the years 1335 and 1337 the numbers varied from thirty-

[1] Patent Rolls.
[2] *Idem.*

eight to forty-two. Another prior, John Bate, was a Greek scholar and a writer of some note. He died here in the year 1429. The convent also provided several provincials. It was surrendered on the 27th of November, 1538, by Simon Clerkson, the prior, nine priests, and three novices.

The NORWICH, or Bradley, friary, in the county of Norfolk, was founded by Philip de Cowgate, son of one Warin, a Norwich merchant, in the year 1256. The founder afterwards took the habit of the Order in this convent, where he died in 1283. In the general notes (Ch. I, P. II), we called attention to the solicitude of the civil arm for the honour of the orders and religion in arresting and imprisoning friars who had abandoned their habit and profession. An instance, under date the 13th of September, 1299, connected with this monastery is interesting. On that date an order was issued to the sheriff of Norfolk to the following effect: Whereas it appears by the letters of M. Bishop of Porto, Cardinal of the Roman Church and the pope's penitentiary, and by the letters of the Prior General of the Carmelite Friars, that Thomas de Bavent, chaplain, a late friar of that Order who was arrested at the request of the Prior Provincial of the Order in England as a vagabond running up and down, and who was imprisoned at Norwich, is absolved from the bond of the Order, which is confirmed by the letters testificatory of the bishop of Norwich; the king orders the sheriff to cause Thomas to be delivered from the said prison, if he be imprisoned solely for this reason. On the 20th of July, 1322, Master Thomas Buteturte, parson of the church of Tuytishale, and Richard de Hedersete, parson of the church of Beghton, granted the friars a messuage in Norwich for the enlargement of their church and house. A large new church was eventually erected, which was sufficiently advanced for use in 1343,

and the new churchyard was dedicated by the Carmelite John Pascal, Bishop of Llandaff, acting as suffragan for the bishop of Norwich, in the year 1344. The church was completed in 1382, and was dedicated by Thomas, Bishop of Scutari. As has been said in our chapter on the Carmelite Nuns (Ch. VII, P. I), the Carmelites favoured the solitary life, and anchorite cells were attached to certain of the monasteries. Besides that for women, already mentioned, there was a second for men next the entrance of the Norwich friary. There dwelt the famous Thomas Scrope, or Bradley. He was called forth from his solitary confinement about the year 1425 by his superiors, and sent as a mission preacher for a season into the world of men. His success was tremendous. Leading a life of almost incredible austerity, he preached diligently to the people both by word and example. He invariably wore sackcloth and an iron girdle about his waist, and went thus about the streets of Norwich crying out that " the new Jerusalem, the Bride of the Lamb, would shortly come down from Heaven, and that she should be prepared immediately for her Spouse "; and he added that with great joy he saw her in the spirit. This conduct seemed to the more conservative superiors to be extravagant, so the Provincial, Thomas Netter Walden, wrote to the friars of Norwich protesting against it, speaking of it as a scandal to the Church, as causing schism and disturbance, and bringing discredit to the Order. He also refers to the light and unstable conduct of this strange man who was, first, a Benedictine monk, then, a Dominican, next, a Friar Minor, and, lastly, a Carmelite anchorite. Thomas, fearing the bad influence of " this generation of vipers," fled back to his cell and solitude, spending the remainder of his life in prayer and writing. Bale says in one place [1] that he remained

[1] Harl. MS., 3838, f. 107.

immured for fourteen years, but elsewhere he says twenty years. In 1441 Eugenius IV granted him an indult [1] to choose a regular or secular priest, as he should desire, for his confessor. In 1450 the same pope dispensed him from his solitary life and nominated him as Bishop of Dromore, Ireland. Father Zimmerman questions whether he ever took possession of his see, but states that he has a letter of the Provincial, Nicholas Kenton, commending Scrope, Bishop-elect of Dromore, to the bishops and nobles of Ireland. As a matter of fact, Scrope suggested Richard Mysyn as his successor, and this Carmelite was nominated in 1457 to the see. Scrope also fulfilled the important office of Apostolic Delegate in Rhodes. In 1477 he consecrated the new church of the Carmelites of Ipswich. Thomas afterwards held certain Norfolk livings, and acted as suffragan bishop. In his old age he returned to his missionary labours, still practising the greatest austerities. Every Friday, for instance, he went about the country barefooted teaching the Ten Commandments to the simple and illiterate peasants, and distributing his goods among the poor. This holy Carmelite died on the 15th of January, 1491, aged well-nigh one hundred years, and he is frequently spoken of as Blessed Thomas. In a note to the preface of his edition *Doctrinale Antiquitatum* of Thomas Walden Father Bonaventure Blanciotti (p. xvi) writes that, having been made Bishop of Dromore, he was not at peace, and giving up his bishopric, he died Vicar General of the Bishop of Norwich. Yet his epitaph seems to support the general view of his sanctity :

> Venit ad occasum mobo confectus amaro
> Spiritus alta petit, pondere corpus humum.

We do not know how to reconcile these scanty and

[1] Papal Lett., IX, 241

conflicting notices, so we give them for what they are worth.

The favour of the Norwich friars was such that distinguished persons were anxious to find a last resting-place in their church. Amongst those buried there was Sir William Calthorpe, founder of the Burnham Norton convent.

The library must have been of some considerable value, since Bale describes it as "the noble and very fair library."

Among the names of the priors that are preserved we find: Philip de Cowgate, died prior, 1283; Thomas de Salthouse, 1334; John de Fulsham, died 1348; Walter Dysse, 1376; Richard Wichingham, 1381; Robert Ivory, 1386; John Tacesphalus, 1404; John Thorp, occurs after 1413; Robert Rose, 1420; John Kenynghale, 1451; Thomas Waterpytte, 1488; Robert, 1517; Thomas, 1533.

The Ipswich monastery was probably an offshoot of this friary, which was surrendered with the rest in the general suppression of the religious in 1538.

STAMFORD Priory was established by King Henry III in the year 1268. It must have grown to considerable dimensions eventually, since, on the 18th of November, 1317, the friars acquired eleven plots of land in the town. To commemorate its foundation by the King the royal arms were cut in stone over the western gate. Writing in 1808 Brayley says:[1] "The west gate still remains entire, and is a handsome though small specimen of the architecture of the fourteenth century." There were three recessed niches in it originally where three statues seem to have stood, and over them three coats of arms. The middle one, showed the arms of England and France quartered. The others were then too defaced to be recognised. In

[1] *The Beauties of England and Wales*, E. W. Brayley.

their journeyings north and back again the English kings and princes were accustomed to put up there. Henry de Hanna, the second English Provincial, which office he held for seventeen years, is said to have been prior here. He was buried in the choir in 1299. In 1300 William Ludlington, and in 1319 Richard Butler, were elected Provincials at Chapters held at Stamford. There was a temporary University at Stamford as early as the second half of the thirteenth century, and the town became famous in the early part of the fourteenth century for its educational excellence, which was due almost exclusively to the Carmelites who conducted the schools there. For this purpose it was necessary to keep a large community of learned men, and the convent housed as many as twenty-six friars. Notable members of the community were John Burley, Doctor of Divinity of Oxford, and Walter Heston, prior Doctor of Divinity of Cambridge, who were among the most famous of the professors in the Carmelite schools. The writer in the Victoria History says: "A house standing east of the parsonage house in St. George's parish pulled down by the Earl of Exeter about 1720, was known in the sixteenth century as the White Friars school. It was within the walls of the town and at some distance from the friary. The friary is said to have been a magnificent structure, famous for its beautiful church and steeple; and the grounds appear to have been nearly a mile in circumference." In the year 1348, according to Bale, many brave knights entered the Order at Stamford, among them being Geoffrey Suthorpe. A third Provincial Chapter was held here in 1444.

The convent of BRIDPORT, in Dorsetshire, was founded about the year 1268. It does not seem ever to have been of much account, and probably ceased to exist about 1365.

LINCOLN Priory was established in the year 1269. There is some doubt as to the real founder, since the usual authorities differ on the point. Leland says that he was "Gualterus called Dorotheus, dean of Lincoln." But there is no trace of any dean of Lincoln of that name. On the other hand, he is given by the Carmelite historian, Richard Hely, prior of Maldon, and by Speed as Odo of Kilkenny. It will be remembered that the mantle worn by the Carmelites on their arrival in England was striped, brown and white. The adoption of the all white mantle by the English Province dates from a Provincial Chapter held at Lincoln on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the 14th of September, 1287. Other Provincial Chapters were held here from time to time. Thus, on the 23rd of August, 1343, protection and safe conduct were granted to Peter Reymund, Prior General, who had lately come to England from beyond the seas on business of his Order, on the occasion of his going to Lincoln for the Provincial Chapter to be held in that convent. This house also must have been of great dimensions, since as many as thirty-four friars were housed here at a time. Richard Mysyn was prior in 1435. The library is said to have been of great value. Whatever were the many faults of Henry VIII, he knew the value of literary works, and he appropriated several of the volumes belonging to this library. A volume among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum (MSS. 13, C. 4) belonged to this house. It contains the Roman histories of Eutropius and Paulus Diaconus, besides other works, as Leland informs us. The Lincoln priory was surrendered in February, 1538-9.

GLOUCESTER convent was founded in the same year as that of Lincoln, the founders being Queen Eleanor, Sir John Gifford, and Sir Thomas Berkeley.

This was at first a small house, but was gradually enlarged till in the year 1337 the community consisted of thirty-one friars. The following notices are to be found in the Patent Rolls :

On the 1st of January, 1282, the keeper of the Forest of Dene is ordered to provide three oaks to the Carmelite Friars of Gloucester for the works of their church.

Under date the 13th of April, 1321, is a confirmation of a grant by Henry de Ok of a cutilage with stews, hays, dykes, walls, and trees, in the suburb of Gloucester.

On the 12th of April, 1331, a request was sent to the Prior Provincial and the Friars about to assemble in their Provincial Chapter at Gloucester for their prayers on behalf of the king and queen, and of Edward their eldest son, for the good estate of the realm.

This convent also produced some remarkable students. Its prosperity had passed before the Reformation, and at the time of the dissolution it had fallen into decay, and had only three friars.

The NORTHAMPTON priory was founded in the year 1271 by Simon Montford and Thomas Chitwood. The following notices are found in the Patent and Close Rolls :

On the 2nd of September, 1290, an order was issued to Roger Lestrange, " justice of the Forest this side of Trent," to grant to the Carmelite Friars of Northampton six oaks. These were probably for use in the building of their fine church.

Licence was granted on the 1st of April, 1299, for the friars to retain in mortmain a plot of land east of their dwelling place acquired by them without licence, since the institution of the statute of mortmain, and to enclose it with a wall for the enlarging of their dwelling.

We read in the Victoria History of the Counties of England :

"The Church of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, Northampton, must have been of considerable size, for in 1310 Bishop Dalderby granted a licence to the friars to have fixed five altars in their church. . . . . In 1363 Bishop Bokyngham granted an indulgence in connection with the image of the Blessed Virgin in the outer chapel . . . . next the entrance to their church. Two of the most celebrated writers among the English Carmelites were connected with this house. John Avon, who was born at Northampton, and joined the Order there, was a Doctor of Divinity and a distinguished mathematician. His chief work, in addition to sermons, was *The Philosophical Ring*, or 'perpetual almanack to find every year for ever, the moveable feasts, the immoveable, the aspects of the heavens, the changes of the moon, and all things relating to the ordering of the divine offices according to the several solemnities throughout the year.'" Avon died about the year 1350, probably of the plague, and was buried in the friary at Northampton. William Beaufeu was a Doctor of Divinity of the University of Oxford, was at some time prior of the Northampton friary, and wrote extensively on theological subjects. He died in the year 1390, and was buried here. This house was surrendered to Dr. John London on the 20th of October, 1538, by John Howell, prior; William Harrison, sub-prior, and seven other friars.

It would seem as if this house had the privilege of Sanctuary, for on the 10th of November, 1400, a commission was issued to the Mayor of Northampton and others to enquire into the report that six persons lately taken in the county on suspicion of larceny and other felonies, and committed to the jail of the castle of Northampton, had escaped and taken refuge in the Carmelite church in the town.

The NOTTINGHAM friary was founded in the year 1272 jointly by Henry III; Reginald, Lord Grey of Wilton, and Sir John Shirley, knight. On the 25th of January, 1316, an exchange of property was made between the two Carmelite friaries in Nottinghamshire. The first was a grant of a plot of land in the town of Nottingham with the chapel of St. James standing on it, which the king held of the gift of the prior and convent of Lenton, and also a small lane leading to the said chapel. In return the convent of Lenton received a messuage in the street of Morthalegate in the town, which the king held of the grant of John Brodleye. It is interesting to note that Henry VIII himself made an offering at the rood of the White Friars in August, 1511. A large number of bequests were made by their benefactors of all degrees. Thus, on the 17th of March, 1319, there was granted a confirmation of grants of land and tenements by divers benefactors. And again on the 10th of October of the same year they received a plot of land 80 feet long and 60 feet broad. Two celebrated members of this community were Philip Baston, who died in 1320, and John Clipston, died in 1378. They were buried at the friary here.

BERWICK, in Northumberland, was founded in 1270 by Sir John Grey. All that is known of it besides is that the Carmelites served in the king's chapel in the castle of Berwick, and received a regular salary for doing so equal to that formerly received by secular chaplains.

The convent of BRYSTOWE was founded about the end of the reign of Henry III. Scarcely anything is known of it. It is not mentioned in the Monasticons. But a reference to its suppression is found in the report of the visitor, Richard Devorans, Reformation bishop of Dover. The report is dated the 25th of July, 1538,

in which he says that that day he rode to Brystowe where there was one house of the White Friars ready at the king's pleasure and Cromwell's. The prior and sexton were gone before his last being there. He made sure of all the substance that was left. A reference is also found in a letter of Devorans' preserved in the British Museum: "There is a chapel and an aisle off the church."

The LYNN convent was founded also towards the end of the reign of Henry III by William, Lord Bardolph. On the 17th of March, 1277, an order was issued to Roger de Clifford, justice of the forest this side of Trent, to cause the Carmelite Friars of Lynn to have six oaks for timber in the king's forest of Sappeleye for the works of their church in that town, of the king's gift. It being found that there were not six oaks fit for timber in this forest another order was issued, dated the 17th of April, to Richard de Holebrok, the king's steward, to provide the oaks from the king's woods in his bailiwick. The keeper of the forest of Wanberg was ordered to provide another six oaks for the same purpose. On the 30th of September, 1538, this convent was surrendered together with all its possessions in the county of Norfolk, where it was situated, and elsewhere in England and Wales and the marches thereof. The community at the time of the surrender consisted of Robert Newman, prior, and ten other friars.

The SANDWICH priory was situated in the interesting old Cinque Port town of Sandwich, county of Kent. It was founded in the year 1272 by William, Lord Clinton, and Henry Cowfield. The following notices are to be found in the Patent Rolls:

On the 15th of November, 1280, licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain by John de Sandwyco of a place in the town of Sandwich adjoining their place there for the enlargement thereof.

On the 6th of June, 1306, licence was granted to Thomas Shelving of Sandwich to assign in mortmain a plot of land in Wodnesburn, 12 feet in length and 12 feet in breadth, with a spring there, to enclose it and make an underground conduit through his lands to their house.

And in Rymer's Foedera, under date the 5th of April of the same year, we read :

" The king to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Sandwich.

" It having come to our knowledge that you have arrested at the gate of Sandwich, and still keep in custody, two friars of the Carmelite Order, recently consecrated bishops by our lord the Supreme Pontiff, because they had letters and bulls prejudicial to us;

" We wish you to know that it is not, and never was, our intention that, by virtue of any mandate of ours addressed to you, you should arrest anyone in episcopal orders;

" Therefore we command you that you release immediately these bishops together with their servants, if these latter have been arrested.

" Letters, however, of this kind prejudicial to us, which you find these or any others bringing into our kingdom you shall transmit whole and entire to our Council at London."

The explanation of this and similar commands, of which we shall have to treat hereafter, is that the Pope, Clement V, was grossly slandered by the Guelphs and Ghibellines alike, who, in the midst of their internecine feuds, were united on one point only, viz., a partizan opposition to the Supreme Pontiff. The translation of the Holy See to Avignon by Clement was displeasing to the Guelphs and made them hostile to the French popes. He was charged with securing his election by scandalous bargain with Philip the Fair, King of

France, and fixing the Holy See at Avignon only through a servile compliance with the monarch's will. As a matter of fact, the transferring of the Roman court to France was dictated by no slavish cringing to the will of Philip. England being now perpetually at war with France, her hostility towards the popes was at times very marked. The king claimed a right of veto over all ecclesiastical appointments. All nominees to bishoprics were required to formally renounce whatever might be prejudicial to the king in the Papal Bulls conveying the appointment or "provision," and to swear fealty to the king. This attitude became even more definite after the fatal battle of Crecy, when, on the 26th of August, 1346, all France was cast into mourning by its signal defeat and the destruction of the flower of its nobility. On that day the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Lorraine, Charles of Alençon, the king's brother, the Count of Flanders and eight other counts, two archbishops, one thousand two hundred knights, and thirty thousand of the rank and file fell on the field of battle. Clement VI was a Frenchman, holding his court at Avignon, and he naturally shared the general grief of his stricken country. In the circumstances it was, perhaps, natural for the English to suspect the Avignon popes and the cardinals, the majority of whom were French, of political partisanship. As a matter of fact, it was Clement who sought to terminate the bloody conflict. It was through his legates, Cardinal Hannibal de Ceccano and Stephen Aubert, that the two monarchs were induced to sign a truce at Calais on the 28th of September, 1347.

With this convent there is associated in Carmelite history a name of great importance, that of William of Sandwich. There is some confusion as to his correct name. Tanner, on the authority of Dempster, calls him "Gualterus de Sannuco," but in the Acta

Sanctorum [1] it occurs as "Gulielmus de Sanvico." There is also a difference of opinion as to his birthplace, some asserting that he was born at Sandwich, others at Syria, others in France. He was a contemporary of St. Simon Stock, whom he probably knew during the latter's sojourn in Palestine, for he led the hermetical life on Mount Carmel and was in Acre when it was captured by the Saracens. When it became impossible to remain any longer in the Holy Land William went to Cyprus and thence returned to England. The date of his return is unknown, but, in the General Chapter celebrated at Mountpelier in 1287, he signed his name to the acts,—William de Sanvico, Definitor of the Province of the Holy Land. On his return to England he probably took up his residence in the convent of Sandwich. He was an historiographer of note, and as he was present at many of the stirring events that made life in Palestine a martyrdom for the Carmelites of those days his *Chronica* [2] is of the utmost importance in the history of the Order.[3] He was, for instance, present at the battle of Accon, which he describes as follows:

"The Saracens in the month of May, in the year of Our Lord 1291, took possession of the city of Accon, in which more than three thousand Christians were killed and captured, besides those who escaped by sea of whom I was one; for many of the Christians of Accon and of the cities of Tyre and Tripoli fled by sea. But so completely did the Saracens lay waste to the city of Accon, together with the important monastery of our religious there, that it was rendered altogether

[1] Tom. iii, Maii, pp. lx-ixiv.

[2] "Chronica Guilielmi de Sanvico, hermit of Mount Carmel, on the increase of his Order throughout the Provinces of Syria and Europe, and of the loss of the monasteries of the Holy Land." (*Cf. Speculum Carmelitarum*, Antwerp, 1680).

[3] *Cf. The Scapular and Some Critics*, wherein his work is treated of at length.

uninhabitable. Departing from the place, and climbing the sacred Mount of Carmel, which is not far distant, they burned down the monastery belonging to the Brothers of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, and put to the sword all the brothers found there, who, at the time, were singing the Salve Regina, and thus was the Religious Order eradicated from the Phoenician Province and, in consequence, entirely from the Holy Land."

When and where he wrote this we do not know. Lezana thought it was at Cyprus, others think it was more likely on his return to England. On what grounds other than mere personal opinion Daniel Papebroch says he wrote it one hundred and fifty years after St. Berthold became General (*i.e.*, about 1300) remains to be discovered. William of Sandwich wrote besides the *Chronica, On the Rule of the Carmelites, Decretals for Religious,* and a *Commentary on the Master of the Sentences.* Strange to say, his works contain little or nothing about English affairs either at home or abroad. Various dates are given for the time in which he flourished, the earliest being 1250 and the last 1290.

The site of the Sandwich friary is now occupied by a house called "Whitefriars" in New Street.

The BRISTOL convent, in Gloucestershire, was founded in the year 1276 by Edward, Prince of Wales. Though little is known of it, it must have been a house of some importance, for Leland tells us that it was the fairest of all the friars' houses in the town. It was suppressed on the 28th of July, 1538, on which date the following inventory of its possessions was made out by the visitor:

"A suit of Mermaids (Maremayds) priest, deacon and subdeacon, 12*s.*; a white suit with lions, 16*s.*; a silk cope with birds, 5*s.*; five old copes, 8*s.*; and other vestments. Two feather beds, 13*s.* 3*d.*; four platters

and three pottingers, 3*s.* 4*d.*; old hangings of the choir, 16*d.*; a tester and syler green, say 12*d.*; a bedstead, 12*d.*; a table, trestles, and a form, 12*d.*; dornyxe hangings of the choir, 16*d.*; a feather bed and a bolster, 5*s.* 8*d.*; kitchen utensils, etc. Total, £8 2*s.* 10*d.*

"Two copper chalices which the visitor has; two bells, which the mayor and Evans are to see sold. The house is in the hands of Evans till the king's pleasure be known. Silver there was none."

The convent of YARMOUTH, Norfolk, was founded in 1276 by Edward I. In the Patent Rolls, under date the 13th of April, 1276, we find a commission to John Lovetot to make an inquisition *ad quod damnum* touching a petition by the Carmelite Friars for licence for them to inhabit a void place in Great Yarmouth called "le Denne," containing 500 feet by 400 feet, and to build a church there for themselves. On the 1st of April, 1509, the church and convent were burned down.

The convent of WINCHESTER in Hampshire was established in the year 1278, the founder being one Peter, parish priest of St. Helen's in Winchester. The convent stood opposite the church of St. Michael. Scarcely anything is known of it. The Reformation visitor, Richard Devorans, writing to Cromwell for directions as to what to do with it, says: "I hear there be no friars."

At CHESTER, county of Cheshire, sixteen miles from Liverpool and twenty miles from the Irish Sea, a monastery of Carmelites was founded in the year 1279, by Thomas Stadham. It was surrendered by John Bastwell and seven others on the 15th of August, 1538. The inventory of the goods at the time of the suppression as made out by the visitor is as follows:

Indenture of the stuff of the White Friars, Chester, delivered to Fulk Dutton, mayor there, and to Harry Gee and Ralph Goodwen, aldermen:

The Sextry :—3 red copes of scarlet branched : copes, vestments, etc., a purse of relics, pillar for the pascall, a cloth for the rood, a cloth for the sepulchre, a pix for the sacrament puresse with in and a lande with tassels. 3 mass books and pystoles, books, etc.

The Choir :—A pair of organs in the quire, a grate of iron branched about the justes tomb, etc., a legend with the martylege and a great pair of organs over the choir door.

The Chancel :—4 altars, etc. ; in the steeple 3 bells.

The Kitchen :—3 pots, 2 pans, 4 pewter dishes, etc.

The chamber within the place :—a cell with certain lyne in, a store house and salt house.

The visitor has a little chalice. Delivered with this 30 old evidences sealed, 6 unsealed, 4 leases unsealed, a bill of debts as the prior saith £8 9*s*.

The site, together with those of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, was granted by Henry VIII to John Cokke, but it soon passed into other hands. The monastery of the Carmelites, which was in the parish of St. Martin, became the property of the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, by whom the church, with its fine spire which had been built only a century, was taken down.[1] One of the Chester annalists observes that " in 1597 the White-freeres steeple, curiously wrought, was taken downe and a faire house built there by Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight, lord-keeper : a great pitie that the steeple was put away, being a great ornament to the citie. This curious spire steeple might still have stood for grace to the city, had not private benefit, the devourer of antiquitie, pulled it down with the church, and erected a house for more commodity, which since hath been of little use, so that the city lost so goodly an ornament that tymes hereafter may more talk of it,

[1] In the *Vale-Royal*, p. 190, the steeple is said to have been built in 1496; other annalists say 1495.

being the only seamark for direction over the bar of Chester." [1] Sir Thomas Egerton's house stood between Whitefriars Street and Commons-hall Lane; the site is now[2] occupied by dwellinghouses and gardens belonging to various persons; in one of the houses some of the old walls are still visible; a building, supposed to have been a chapel, was taken down about the year 1795. A part of Sir Thomas Egerton's mansion, facing Commons-Hall, which was standing in 1772, proved the scene of a most dreadful calamity. This building was then occupied by a poor family, and the first floor had been let out to a puppet-show man, " and at the moment he was exhibiting to a very full audience, by some unknown accident, eight hundred pounds weight of gunpowder, which was lodged in a warehouse beneath, then in the occupation of a grocer, took fire and blew up three stories: twenty-three people perished, and eighty-three were much burned and bruised." [3]

The convent of APPLEBY, in Westmoreland, was founded in the year 1281. The founders were lords de Vesey, Percy, and Clifford.

The following notices are found in the Patent Rolls:

On the 18th of April, 1305, licence was granted, after inquisition *ad quod damnum* made by the sheriff of Westmoreland, for the alienation in mortmain by John de Cumbewell and Idonia, his wife, to the prior and Carmelite Friars of Appleby, of a void plot there, adjoining the friars' house, which is held in chief and contains 40 perches in length and 16 perches in width, for the enlargement of their area, notwithstanding that, as often as the heirs of Idonia happen to be minors in

[1] Harl. MSS., No. 2125.
[2] *Magna Britannia* (1810), Rev. Daniel and Samuel Lysons.
[3] Pennant's *Wales*, Vol. I, p. 176.

the king's custody, the king will lose the custody of the said plot.

On the 20th of November, 1325, a grant was made "to the prior and Carmelite Friars of Appleby in consideration of their having lost their charter of foundation and all other charters, letters and muniments relating to the acquisition of their manse, which had been carried away and destroyed by the Scots in their late invasion of the kingdom, and for the special affection which the king bears to the order, that they and their successors shall hold their whole manse and area with the oratory and other buildings, as enclosed by the walls and dykes, and as their predecessors have hitherto held the same, without molestation of any of the king's ministers."

The convent of KINGSTON-ON-HULL in Yorkshire was founded in the year 1290 by Edward I, Sir Robert Ughtred, and Sir Richard de la Pole.

That Edward I was particularly interested in this house is evident from a letter addressed by him to the Pope, Clement V, on the 25th of January, 1307:[1]

"Since the place which Our beloved in Christ, the prior and friars of the Order of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, Our chaplains in Our town of Kingston-upon-Hull, at present inhabit is now too small to accommodate the great concourse of people coming for the hearing of the divine offices;

"That the divine worship may be the more devoutly carried out in the said town by the said friars, We desire that a certain place, of greater dimensions, in the said town and within the boundaries of the parish in which they at present dwell, may be granted to them by Us for building and habitation.

"We, therefore, because of the great affection we

[1] *Rymer's Foedera*, Lanercrost, R. C. 1008.

have for the said friars, most earnestly pray that you will deign to grant them licence to transfer to this new place which, as We have said, We have given them.

" May the Most High preserve you to govern, long and prosperously, His Holy Church."

At the time of the suppression John Wade was prior.

The author of a work entitled " Our Own Country," published in the year 1882, writing of Kingston-on-Hull, says: " From this bridge (Whitefriarsgate Bridge) we enter Whitefriarsgate, one of the principle centres of business in Hull. The name of this street is 'derived from a Carmelite monastery which formerly occupied the site of the houses on the south side, and was suppressed in 1535. Several stone coffins have been found in the process of excavating for the sites of houses."

The convent of MALDON in the county of Essex was founded in the year 1292 by Richard Gravesende, Bishop of London, and Richard Iselham, Rector of South Hanningfield. The Carmelite historian, Richard Hely, was prior here. In his history of the Carmelite houses in England he gives their number as forty, of which Maldon was the twenty-sixth. Another distinguished member of the Order whose name is associated with this house is Thomas Maldon. He took the habit and was professed here, whence he afterwards went to Cambridge to complete his studies, and became known there as a great scholar, an acute thinker, and an able orator. He wrote about twelve works, of which one is still preserved. He later became prior of Maldon, evidently in 1381, for on the 23rd of November of that year a commission was issued " to arrest and deliver to Thomas, prior of Maldon, Edmund Barnton, an apostate friar of that house who in secular habit is wandering about from place to place." Here he died and was buried in the year 1404. Pope Boniface IX granted an Indulgence on the 22nd of July, 1391, to

be gained " on the four feasts of the Virgin " by all who should visit and give alms for the conservation of the chapel of St. Mary in the Carmelite Church. On the 12th of May, 1419, a grant was made to friar William Boston, Carmelite, of the wardenship of the hospital of St. Giles in Maldon.

The BOSTON convent, situated in the town of that name in Lincolnshire, was founded in the year 1293 by Sir John Orreby.

The following notices relative to this house appear in the Patent Rolls :

June 4, 1305. Pardon to the prior and Carmelite friars of Boston for acquiring in mortmain from Robert de Wellebek of Boston a messuage there adjoining their area, and licence for them to keep it for the enlargement of the same.

November 15, 1307. Same as above, and also a licence to erect a church and other buildings for the celebration of divine service.

December 8, 1308. Licence for the alienation in mortmain by John Parleben to the prior and friars of Boston of a plot of land adjacent to their place in Boston.

April 21, 1316. Grant to the Carmelite Friars of Boston of the plot of land in that town which Simon Gernon son of John Gernon of Boston by his writing granted to the king, which plot is adjacent to their dwelling place there, and contains 18 perches of land in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ perches in breadth, for the enlargement thereof, to hold to them and their successors notwithstanding the statute of mortmain.

December 7, 1315. Grant in mortmain to the Carmelite Friars of Boston of that plot of land in the town of Boston, containing 81 feet in length and 25 feet in breadth, which John Hervy of London and Boston and Avice, his wife, granted to the king.

This was evidently a large house, since in the year

1328 there were twenty-two friars in residence. It would also seem that it became too small, or else fell into disrepair, for there was a second foundation in 1350.

John Hornby, who was prior here in 1374, wrote, among other works, a defence of the Order against the attacks of John Stokes the Dominican. The question in dispute was the antiquity of the Carmelite Order.[1]

The convent of BLAKENEY, otherwise known as Sniterely, in Norfolk, was founded in 1296, the founders being Sir William Ross, his wife, John and Michael Storm, John and Thomas Thobury.

On the 24th of April, 1316, pardon was granted to the Carmelite friars of " Snyterlegh " for acquiring in mortmain from Michael le Bret one and a half acres of land and entering thereon without licence of the late king. Licence was also granted for them to build houses on the land and to inhabit the same.

The church and all the buildings were not completed until 1321. The suppression took place towards the end of the fatal year 1538. The buildings were left untouched, as Sir Richard Gresham had the preferment of them at the king's hands. It will be remembered that the same was the case in regard to the Burnham Norton friary.

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[1] *Cf.* Ch. XII of this work.

CHAPTER XV

OTHER ENGLISH FOUNDATIONS
(Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)

WALES and CALAIS

" Life and thought have gone away
Side by side,
Leaving doors and windows wide:
Careless tenants they!

" Close the doors, the shutters close,
Or thro' the windows we shall see
The nakedness and vacancy
Of the dark deserted house."

A house was founded at SUTTON in Yorkshire in the time of Edward I, but we have neither been able to discover the exact date nor anything else about it.

The convent of NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE in Northumberland was founded first on Wall Knoll. In the Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland there is a memorandum (No. 1151), dated the 22nd of August, 1300, to the effect that " on Monday the octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, anno 28, the mayor and community of Newcastle-on-Tyne received a writ from the king, commanding them to make provision for the prior and brethren of the Carmelites, whose church and convent will be destroyed by the new foundations there." [1] The fact

[1] Privy Seals (Tower), 33 Edw. I, File 6.

that the church and convent were then standing proves that they must have been here for a considerable time before 1300, but as we have been unable to discover the exact date of the first foundation we place it in this chapter. The building of the said fortifications evidently continued for many years, for the Carmelites did not leave the Wall Knoll till the year 1307. They took possession of the convent of the Friars of the Sac, otherwise known as the Friars of the Penance of Jesus, which was granted them by Edward III on condition that they undertook to support the prior, Walter de Carlton, for the remainder of his life. This friar was the last surviving member of his Order, which was one of those suppressed by Gregory X at the Council of Lyons in 1274. The house was situated at the foot of Westgate Street. Brayley writes (1808) that some remains of the windows and arches of the doorways were still to be seen in the houses erected on the site. In a paper, "Inventory of the parish church of St. Mary, Scarborough, 1434; and that of the White Friars or Carmelites of Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1538," read by W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., on June 9th, 1887, before the Society of Antiquaries of London, he said: "Some time ago, while looking through the Society's collection of manuscripts, I found lying loose between the pages of MS. 114—a work on 'The different state of the godly and the wicked,' by Richard Berkeley—an original inventory of the 'house of the white freres of Newcastell.' . . . . The history of the White Friars of Newcastle is very scanty. Their house appears to have been established in the reign of Henry III. It was surrendered by the prior, seven brethren, and two novices, in their chapter house, January 10, 30 Henry VIII. The inventory under notice is that of the contents of the house made after the surrender. It enumerates the contents of the church, kitchen, cloister,

frater, brewhouse, buttery, dorter, and lady chapel respectively. The church contained four altars. The high altar had an alabaster reredos with a wooden canopy or tester over it; and the rood altar stood within a screen or parclose. The choir was furnished with stalls, and separated from the nave by a 'Parclose overwhart the Churche.'"

The convent of SHEEN in Surrey, which was in fact the king's manor, was occupied by his command on the 28th of June, 1315. Included in the property attached to this house were three islands. For some reason or other it was considered an unsuitable residence. When Edward II, in fulfilment of his promise made to Robert Baston (*cf.* White Friars, Oxford), handed over Beaumont Palace to the Carmelites, Sheen was vacated and the twenty-four friars who formed its community were transferred to the new Oxford foundation in 1318.

MARLBOROUGH convent in Wiltshire was founded in the year 1316 by John Goodwin and William Rammeshule. It seems to have been always a small foundation of little importance, and the information to be gathered in regard to it is very scanty.

On the 1st of January, 1316, licence was granted for the alienation "by William de Rammeshulle to the Carmelite Friars in 'Marlebergh' and John Godhyne of a garden and a plot of land adjacent in the said town, containing two acres of land, held in chief, subject to a rent which the king's mother, Queen Margaret, receives for life of the grant of the late king." Each of the above benefactors made a second grant on the 1st of January, 1320. On the 10th of October, 1447, a grant was made "to the Carmelite Friars of Marlyngburgh in relief of their poverty, of as much fuel of 'boughwode' and 'shrobbes' within the forest and woods of Savernak as a horse can carry thence weekly for three days going and returning." When it was

surrendered in 1538 there were only five friars in occupation.

SHOREHAM in Sussex was established in 1316 by Sir John Mowbray. On the 10th of November, 1325, pardon was granted to the friars of this house for acquiring in mortmain from William de Brewosa a messuage adjoining their dwelling place. This convent was exceedingly poor and dangerously situated because of the inroads of the sea. In the year 1493 the house was destroyed by the sea, whether by a tidal wave or otherwise is not recorded. In this year the homeless community moved into the vacant buildings of the priory of SELE, which had been suppressed and made over to Magdalene College, Oxford, where they were permitted to remain by the courtesy of the authorities of Oxford University. Because of the extreme poverty of the community it ceased to be occupied before the final suppression. When the visitor, the notorious bishop of Dover, arrived on the 16th of July, 1538, he found the doors lying open. Nobody had been there for the past six days. His inventory shows the great poverty of the convent:

"A spit, a sorry bell, three or four old forms, two or three ragged chasubles and tunicles, 3*s.* 4*d.*

"A bell in the parish steeple which the friars used, but the parish says it belongs to them. Four acres of ground, let for 10*s.* a year. Stalls in the choir, 20*s.* No prior there, nor none to serve God."

HITCHIN in Hertford was founded in 1317 by Edward II. On the 8th of June of that year a grant in frank almoin was made of a messuage in "Hicche" which the king held of the grant of Adam le Rous of Hicche, to build a church and house for their habitation. In September, 1530, Henry VIII made the convent a gift of forty shillings. On the 5th of May, 1534, the then prior, John Butler, took the oath of Supremacy.

In reward for this perfidy the house was spared for four years more. The surrender was signed by Butler and four other friars. A fifth friar named Alexander had begun to sign his name, but before he had finished he repented and struck his signature through with his pen. Very few traces of the priory remained in 1808, when Brayley wrote.

SCARBOROUGH, in Yorkshire, was founded in 1319 by Edward II. On the 19th of October of that year, the grant was made to the Carmelite friars of two houses in Scarborough which the king held of the gift of Robert Wanwayn, to construct an oratory and houses in which to dwell. On the 19th of May, 1320, licence was granted "for the Cistercian abbot and convent, parson of the church of St. Mary, Scardeburgh, who have at the king's request granted to the prior and Carmelite Friars of Scardeburgh that they may build an oratory within the bounds of the parish of the said church and celebrate divine service daily therein, to acquire lands and tenements in Scardeburgh to the value of 60*s*. a year to hold in aid of the maintenance of their chapter general at Citeaux."

On the 3rd of October, 1388, "licence was granted in favour of the priors, the guardian, and the friars of the three orders of Preachers, Minors and Carmelites of Scardeburgh, co. York, for an officer who is want to traverse that town with a hand-bell for praying in common for the bodies buried within sanctuary, freely and without disturbance to do so for the souls of all whose bodies now rest, or shall hereafter rest, within the houses and cemeteries of the said priors, guardian, and friars, especially on the days of funeral obsequies, burials, and anniversaries, and for the soul of Edward II, chief founder of the Carmelite friars in that town, and of all the founders of those orders, provided that the said officer attempt nothing that

may tend to the injury of the franchise of the church (libertatis ecclesiasticae)." The next year, however, this post was vacated by the king's order, and the licence cancelled as contrary to the said franchise, and prejudicial to the king.

At LYME, in Dorsetshire, land was given for a foundation by William Darre, or Daie, in 1325, but no priory seems to have been built here.

At TAUNTON, in Somersetshire, provision was made for founding a convent in the year 1341. On the 14th of June of that year licence was granted to Walter de Meriet to give nine acres of meadow in Taunton to the prior provincial of the Carmelite Friars to build a convent and church in honour of the Virgin Mary. On the 3rd of September, 1343, an order was issued to John de Membury and Robert de Somerton to deliver to the Carmelites nine acres of meadow in Taunton, which Walter de Meriet, clerk, granted to the king by deed, and which the king appointed John and Robert to receive in his name and to continue the seisin until further order. The king afterwards granted the meadow to the Carmelites for building a church and houses. But it is stated, 25th of November, that the purpose for which the grant was made could not be pursued. It was then returned to the donor. Thus there was never a church or house there.

The convent of LUDLOW, Shropshire, was founded in the year 1350 by Laurence de Ludlow. On the 10th of February of that year licence was granted, in consideration of 10*s.* paid to the king by the prior provincial, for the alienation in mortmain by Laurence de Ludlowe, " chivaler," to the prior and friars of that order of a messuage in " Lodelowe " to build a habitation there. On the 12th of October, 1355, the king granted licence for the friars to retain seven other messuages which they had acquired contrary to the

statute in return for their prayers. Leland, speaking of the White Friars' College here, says it was a "fair and costly thing." At the suppression one Thomas Vernon, who had ferreted out the hiding-place of the sacred vessels which the friars had thought to save from desecration, sought to obtain the suppressed friary from Roland Lee, the Reformation visitor, by asserting that his ancestors were the founders. One cannot help feeling pleased that the visitor advised Cromwell otherwise.

The DONCASTER priory in Yorkshire was founded by John Nicbrother, Richard le Ewere, the king and John of Gaunt, in 1350. On the 30th of November of that year licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain "by John son of Henry Nicbrothere de Eyoun and Richard le Ewere of Doncastre to the Carmelite Friars who are coming to dwell in the town of Doncastre of a messuage and six acres of land there to build thereon a church in honour of St. Mary and houses to dwell in." A Provincial Chapter was held here in the year 1376. Two of the community were appointed Papal Chaplains in the years 1398 and 1402 respectively. There was here a famous image of Our Blessed Lady which was credited with miraculous efficacy. In honour of it many bequests were made to this house. The hair-shirt of Earl Rivers was laid before this statue after his execution in 1483. It was popularly known as "Our Lady of Doncaster." Many distinguished lay persons stayed here from time to time, amongst them being: Henry of Bolingbroke, July, 1399; Edward IV, 1470; Henry VII, 1486. Princess Margaret Tudor was entertained in 1503. An interesting case of early incorporation in connection with this convent occurs under date the 15th of December, 1473, on which date a grant was made "to John Sutton, the prior, and the convent of the house

and church of St. Mary, Doncastre, co. York, of Carmelites, which is of the foundation of the King's patronage, that they shall form one body with power to plead and be unpleaded and shall have perpetual succession and a common seal, and grant to them of licence to acquire lands, rents, and other possessions, not held in chief, in frank almoin to the value of £20 yearly. Several friars of this house attained some distinction as writers, John Marrey, John Colley, John Sutton, provincial, and Henry Parker of whom we have written extensively (*cf.* White Friars—London). Other notable members of the community were Laurence Cook, who suffered death at the Reformation, and John Bale of whom we have written elsewhere. Many noble and distinguished persons were buried in the church. The priory was surrendered in the general suppression by Edward Stubbis and seven other friars on the 13th of November, 1538. The surrender was taken by Hugh Wyrral and Teshe, who made an inventory of the property of the friary at the time. The image of Our Lady was taken away before Teshe's coming by the visitor's orders, together with other images to which the people had been devoted. The following were priors of Doncaster: William Freston, 1366; John Marrey, before 1407; John Sutton, 1472; E. Th. Prior, 1515; John Bale, c. 1530; Laurence Cook, 1536; Edward Stubbis, 1538.

The NORTHALLERTON priory, in Yorkshire, was founded in the year 1356. On the 8th of November a grant was made to the Carmelites " of a croft called ' Tentoucroft ' in Northallerton, co. York, with a meadow of some three acres adjoining, to found a house of the Order to the praise and honour of God and His Mother, the glorious Virgin Mary, to pray for the souls of the king, his progenitors and his children." The king, Edward III, John Yole, his wife, and Thomas

Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, were responsible for this foundation. John de Nevill, lord of Raby, built the church. Robert Gale, the suppressing visitor, writes: "I found but one Religious House here, which was of Carmelites." It was surrendered on the 20th of December, 1538, by William Humphrey, prior, five priests and five novices.

DRAYTON-IN-HALES, in Shropshire, is a doubtful foundation. Tanner says: "Roger de Northburgh, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and lord keeper of the great seal . . . . took out (a.d. 1354) the King's licence to found an house of Carmelites or White Friars in this place; though, from my meeting with nothing further of it, I question whether any such house was ever actually founded." The above licence was issued on the 30th of June, 1354, and is addressed to Roger "to found a house of Carmelite Friars at Drayton-in-Hales and assign in mortmain to the prior and friars four acres of land there, to build houses for their habitation."

The WARWICK convent was founded by John Peyto and Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, about 1345-6. We have been unable to discover anything further about it.

We have also failed to find the dates on which the following houses were founded, and little other information has come to light in their regard.

Mention of a Carmelite convent at RICHMOND, in Yorkshire, is made on Patent Rolls, 15 Elizabeth.

PONTEFRACT, in Yorkshire, was founded by Edmund Lacey, Earl of Lincoln.

BOLTON was founded either by Earl of Abemarle or by Lord Grey of Codnor. This house also was in Yorkshire.

LENTON, in Nottinghamshire, is mentioned in Patent Roll of 2 Edward I.

SHREWSBURY, in Shropshire, is mentioned by Speed as having been founded by the Jenevils. Tanner doubts its existence.

PLYMOUTH, in Devonshire, was surrendered on the 18th of September, 1538, by Friar John Myllyn, prior and five other friars.

WALES

The Order never seemed to make any great progress in Wales, which was always part of the English Province. Indeed, the only convents we find there were the following:

RUTHIN, in Denbighshire, is mentioned by Leland, but we find it nowhere else.

DENBIGH, in Denbighshire. It was founded about 1300 and was surrendered on the 18th of August, 1538, by Richard Conway, Prior. In his inventory the visitor tells us: "The church is a long house, slated, like a barn, with a steeple of timber like a lovere of a hall, boarded, the top leaded. A little cloister half built, on the south side of the church. On the east side of the cloister, the chapter house and the bishop's chamber. On the south side of the cloister the dorter. On the west side a little hall, buttery, and chamber. An old kitchen, gatehouse, and stable. A fair orchard and a little garden." The chancel and part of the nave still survive.

CARDIFF, in Glamorganshire, is mentioned in Willis' Llandaff, but we find it nowhere else.

When things had quietened down after the Penal Days an attempt was made to open up a new mission, about the middle of the nineteenth century, but from beginning to end it was unsuccessful.

MERTHYR-TYDVELL. The place settled on was 19 George Street, Merthyr-Tydvell, South Wales, which

was founded from the Dutch Province. But a Dutch community was wholly out of place in such a country, for, not only did these pioneers from Holland not speak the language of the people, but their manners and ideals were altogether foreign to those amongst whom they were to work, mainly an Irish population. An unalterable prejudice, a provincial sentiment, call it what you will, seems to separate the English speaker from the "foreigner," and to make any intimate intercourse almost impossible. The missionary effort of these fathers, however heroic, was doomed from its inception. The community itself was divided on this very issue. From a letter of the Bishop of Newport, Thomas Joseph Beacon, O.S.M., dated the 30th of May, 1867, we learn that the community then consisted of Father Elias, in charge of the mission; Father Anastasius Smits, Father Angelus, a British subject; Father Hilarion, and Father Angelus Bruton, an Irishman. Surely a difficult community to hold together. The difficulty was appreciated by some of these fathers, who sought to obtain a priest or two from Ireland. Indeed, there was always a movement on foot to hand the mission over to the Irish Province. Father Smits and Father Bruton wrote to the General, Father Angelus Savini, asking that Father Andrew Farrington might be sent from Knocktopher, Ireland. But the proposition was spiritedly opposed by the Dutch fathers, Elias and Hilarion, and they were strongly seconded by the Irish Provincial, Dr. Spratt, on the ground that he could not spare anyone. About this time the Dutch met with trouble from another source. There is no doubt that their administration was faulty. Indeed, they seemed to have no capacity for conducting important financial affairs. In the end the bishop threatened to bill their Province for £700, for which no satisfactory account could be given.

In the beginning of 1868 the mission passed to the Irish Province, when the community consisted of Fathers Bruton, W. Blanchfield, Patrick Carr, and Feehan. Father Bruton died on Ash Wednesday, the 10th of February, 1875, on which occasion Father Carr wrote to the Father General informing him of the universal grief of the people of Merthyr-Tydvell. His body was interred in the cemetery of Cefu, the obsequies being celebrated with great pomp in the presence of Bishop Hedley.

Father Carr was now in charge, and Father Paul McDonnell took the place of Father Feehan, who returned to Ireland to collect alms for the support of the mission, which was exceedingly poor. But the site was most unhealthy, and Father McDonnell was soon compelled to return home.

The mission was becoming poorer and poorer every day because of a steady decline in commerce and the high cost of living, so that it could now only support one priest in poverty. Father Carr, saintly priest that he was, held on determinedly till he became badly affected with rheumatism, due to the damp nature of the climate. He was the last man in the world to complain unduly, yet, on the 5th of October, 1877, he wrote asking, because of ill health, to be returned to Ireland, or, if that were impossible, that he might be relieved of the charge of the mission. He stated that there was no longer a living for even one priest, and that the attempt to save it by alms collected in Ireland had failed. Shortly after, the mission was of necessity given up, and Father Carr returned. After many years of splendid missionary work in Australia and America he died a very holy death on the 11th of May, 1914, in the convent of Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny, Ireland, and his name has ever since been held in veneration in that countryside.

CALAIS

We feel that it is but right to mention the Calais house of the Order since it was founded from England, and was co-existent with the English occupation of that sea-port town of France.

When in the year 1346-7 Edward III laid siege to Calais, Carmelite friars were taken with the besiegers as chaplains.

On the 28th of June, 1347, a " pardon for good service in the war of France was granted to Andrew Hychen, friar of the Order of Mount Carmel, of the king's suit against him of any offence, should he have committed such, before the fourth of September last; on condition that so long as the king be on this side of the seas he do not withdraw from his service without licence." This was one of the strange formulas by which high honours were conferred in these days. Though it may seem on paper a small recompense for distinguished services, it was in fact a great honour. Thus, after the famous battle of Nevil's Cross, Edward granted the same pardon to the eminent chieftains, Coupland, Robert Bertram, and William Silvertop, in recognition of their great achievements and the chief part they played in winning the battle. Amongst other doughty deeds Coupland, for instance, had captured the Scottish king, David.

After a siege of twelve months Calais fell to Edward, who forthwith peopled the town with a colony of English, and it continued to flourish under their rule for two centuries. It was probably shortly after the capitulation that the king founded a monastery of Carmelites there.

The only other documents we have discovered connecting the Carmelites with Calais up to the time of the suppression are the following :

23rd August, 1401. Grant for life, during the war with France, to Friar John Kynaresle, Carmelite, of 100*s.* yearly which the prior and convent of Lewes are bound to pay to the king during the war.

7th September, 1505. Letter to the king from Jean Blicquy de Houppelines, French Secretary to the King's Council at Calais, recommending most strongly the General of the Carmelites as one who is particularly qualified to serve him in any matters at the Court of Rome, from his long residence there, and employment by the successive popes Sixtus, Innocent, and Alexander, as well as the present Pope; the writer has left Calais in order to bring him to London.[1]

An excuse had to be sought for the suppression of this house, and it was found in the preaching of the Carmelite, Adam Damlip. He apparently was unwilling, like some few of his brethren, to submit tamely to the exactions of the "reformers," and continued to preach the Catholic doctrine and to hold up to contempt and ridicule the doctrines and practices of the Reformation. He succeeded so far as to keep the people from attending the Protestant services.

On the 19th of June, 1538, an order was issued by the Council of Calais to the effect that "Adam Damlip, Carmelite, having read at White Friars there matters referring to the Sacrament of the Altar which have aroused controversy, to the prejudice of the king's retinue and the town, the Lord Deputy sent for the Commissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had licenced Damlip to preach, and warned him that if Damlip preached on the morrow, Corpus Christi Day, otherwise than may stand with the king's pleasure, he would charge the Commissary with the same, because he had licenced him to preach."

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[1] Calais Papers.

In August of the same year the prior of the White Friars here, John Dove, was summoned before the Council. A number of questions were put to him, of which the following give the general tone:

I. Where he was made friar? He answered "in Ichen (Hitchen) in Hertfordshire where he tarried from 10 to 14 or 15 years of age."

II. Where he had studied? &c.

III. Who encouraged him to come to England to depose against the said Adam?

We cannot understand the import of this question, which seems to suggest that the prior took sides against his subject and with the king's minions. The feeling in Calais at this time was running high against the English, and Prior John Dove was blamed by them for it through supporting Adam Damlip and the Commissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is stated that Adam by his sermons was responsible for the absence of the people from "hearing mass, matins, or evensong." And in the same place we find: "There are about 1,700 persons in St. Mary's parish and there were not above 10 or 12 at evensong on Trinity Sunday." [1]

We next find a long series of letters between John Husse and Lord Lisle, the latter begging the former's intercession with Cromwell that the Friary with all its lands might be allotted to him. But there were other competitors in the field. Sir Thomas Palmer wrote direct to Cromwell on the 10th of September, 1538: "If you will apoint me conductor of the friars here, I shall see that they show no popishness." Both Husse and Cromwell played with these clients for a long time, each, probably, seeking the utmost possible recompense for their favour. On the 31st of January, 1539, Husse wrote to Lisle: "I think there will be no doubt of

[1] Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII.

your suit for the friars, but you must wait till it pleases my lord Privy Seal to promote it. Mr. Polstede is very good on it. There is no such hope for the Friars' churches in London, which will be turned into parish churches, and the friars will be sent abroad to seek their living." And on the 4th of February Husse again wrote: "The commission for the friars is made. You must write at once whom you will have in commission with you. . . . . The prior may in the meantime instruct you how things stand."

About December, 1539, the prior, John Dove, wrote to Lord Lisle, general captain of the town and marches of Calais:

"My Lord Chamberlain sends his commendations, and thanks you in my behalf, and, as you have granted me my chamber with its contents, I have sent my servant to Calais to collect my things. I will be glad if you will let me have the pension of £5 in writing which you granted me, and the hangings of green and red say about the high altar for my chamber. The rents owed me by Mr. Porter I put wholly to your lordship. My lady has a bill of them. Mr. Pryngeley has a vestment and a chalice I left with him. If you will give me the vestment it shall be a memory as long as I live. My servant will deliver you the keys of all things in the house. Left four feather beds in ostry when I went into England last year. Found none of them at my return. Edmund Gatts stole two and sold them to the parson of Offchyrche. Mr. Porter's servant has the rest."

Thus, under the pretence of "Godlie reformation," was completed the plunder of the last remaining house of the English Province of the Carmelite Order. It had rendered signal service to the State, and members of its community had been honoured by the royal ancestors of the royal plunderer.

But here as elsewhere the hand of God was felt in revenge for the misdeeds of the reformers. In the brief reign of Queen Mary that bright jewel in the English Crown, which it had possessed for more than two hundred years, that town which had always been regarded as very valuable for the purposes of trade, which was deemed a great monument of glory to England, and a thorn continually rankling in the side of France, was lost to England. The reformers love to lay the blame on the Catholic Queen. We have no room to refute this calumny. But hear what the Protestant historian Cobbett has to say:

"This great misfortune was owing to the neglect, if not, perfidy of her councillors, joined to the dread of Philip to see Calais and its dependencies in the hands of Mary's successor.

"Thus, then, it is to the 'Reformation,' which had caused the loss of Boulogne, in the plundering and cowardly reign of Edward VI, that we, even to this day, owe, that we have to lament, the loss of Calais, which was, at last, irretrievably lost by the selfishness and perfidy of Elizabeth."

. . . . . .

This seems to be an opportune place, being the end of our account of the English convents, to insert the complete list of the Provincials which has fortunately been preserved:

Thomas Fuller, D.D., in his *Church History of Britain*, writes:[1]

"Another thing also is alleged in praise of our Carmelites,—that they were most careful in keeping the records of their Order, that, the list being lost of the Benedictines, Dominicans, &c., save here or there a broken link or two, Carmelites have preserved the

[1] Book VI, New Edition, published 1837.

successive series of their provincials. Let them thank John Bale herein, once one of them, (though they be pleased to jeer him as forsaking it for the love of his dear Dorothy,) who in his youth made the catalogue out of love of his Order, and in his old age preserved it out of his general affection to antiquity, and it will not be amiss here to present it."

Provincial	His Country	Began	Ruled	Lies buried in
1. Ralph Freburne	Northumberland	1240	14	Alnwick
2. Henry de Hanna	Brumham	1254	17	Stanford
3. Roger Grostwick	Norfolk	1272	5	Brumham
4. William Hamberg	Surrey	1278	3	London
5. William Ludlington	Lincoln	1289	5	Stanford
6. William Newenham	Cambridge	1303	2	Cambridge
7. Richard Wellwen	Hertford	1305	4	Hitchen
8. William Pagham	Kent	1309	3	Meath, Ireland
9. John Barkemstead	Hertford	1312	7	London
10. Richard Blyton	Lincoln	1319	6	Lincoln
11. John Walsingham	Norfolk	1326	3	Avignon
12. John Baconthorp	Norfolk	1329	2	Oxford
13. John Blexham	Oxford	1333	2	Oxford
14. John Poleshed	Suffolk	1335	7	York
15. John Folsham	Norfolk	1340	6	Norwich
16. Walter Kelham	York	1345	5	Alverston
17. William Lubbenham	Coventry	1353	1	Coventry
18. John Counton	York	1359	3	London
19. Thomas Broun	London	1362	17	London
20. Robert Yvorie	London	1379	13	London
21. John Kinningham	Suffolk	1393	5	York
22. Stephen Patrington	York	1399	15	London
23. Thomas Walden	Essex	1414	16	Roanne
24. Jo. Kenninghall	Norfolk	1430	13	Norwich
25. Nicholas Kenton	Suffolk	1444	12	London
26. Jo. Milverton	Bristol	1456	11	London
27. John Sutton	Doncaster	1465	3	Doncaster
28. Jo. Vinde	Lincoln	1482	14	Boston
29. Robert Love	Norfolk	1505	7	Norwich
30. Richard Ferris	Oxford	1513	3	Oxford
31. John Bird	Warwick	1516	3	Chester
32. Robert Lesbury	Northumberland	1519	3	Chester

"This order was vertical; and, in the highest exaltation thereof, in the reign of king Edward IV under Nicholas Kenton their twenty-fifth provincial, they reckoned no fewer than fifteen hundred of their Order.[1] But when John Milverton, his successor, began, in favour of Friary, furiously to engage against bishops and the secular clergy, the Carmelites' good masters and dames began to forsake them;[2] and they never recovered their credit, till they were utterly dissolved. John Bird, the one-and-thirtieth (some say, last) provincial of this Order, zealously impugned the pope's primacy in his sermons; for which he was made the first bishop of Chester, and was ejected that see in the reign of Queen Mary, because he was married."[3]

[1] Pitseus, *De Scriptoribus Anglicis*, p. 659.
[2] *Idem*, p. 674.
[3] *The Bishops of Chester*, Goodwin.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ENGLISH CARMELITES AND THE REFORMATION

" At length into a monastery did light
. . . . despoiling all with might and main.
Into the cloisters now he broken had,
Through which the monks he chanced here and there
And then pursued them into the dortors sad,
And searched all their cells and secrets near,
From thence into the sacred church he broke
And robbed the chancel, and the desks down threw,
And altars fouled and blasphemy spake."

The English Reformation has had many eulogists, but few honest historians. Of the few the outstanding name is that of the Protestant historian, William Cobbett, to whose work we refer all who are sufficiently unprejudiced to desire to know the truth as to the cause, the progress, and consequences of this unspiritual revolution.

" It was not a *reformation*," writes Cobbett, " but a *devastation* of England, which was, at the time when this event took place, the happiest country, perhaps, that the world had ever seen; and, it is my chief business to show, that this devastation *impoverished* and *degraded* the main body of the people." He says only too truly that *plunder* was the main-spring of the Reformation. Elsewhere, treating of the monks and the monasteries,[1] he writes: " The country people

[1] The term " monastery " is used throughout this chapter in a most general sense, connoting all religious houses, monasteries, priories, friaries, nunneries.

spoke of them with great reverence, and most grievously deplored the loss of them. They had large estates, were easy landlords, and they wholly provided for all the indigent within miles of their monastery. England, more, perhaps, than any other country in Europe, abounded in such institutions, and these more richly endowed than any where else. In England there was, on an average, more than *twenty* (we shall see the exact number by-and-by) of these establishments to a *county!* Here was a prize for an unjust and cruel tyrant to lay his lawless hands upon, and for ' reformation ' gentry to share amongst them ! Here was enough, indeed, to make robbers on a grand scale cry out against ' monkish *ignorance* and *superstition!*' "

In the year 1509, when not eighteen years of age, Henry VIII ascended the throne of England. Two months later he married Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand, King of Castile and Aragon. She had previously been married to Henry's elder brother Arthur, who was at the time but fourteen years of age. A weak and sickly boy, Arthur died within a year, the marriage never having been consummated. Though Catherine was only nominally the widow of the dead prince yet a dispensation was required from the Pope to validate Henry's marriage with her. This dispensation was duly granted by Pope Julius II on Catherine's representation, and other proof, that the marriage had never been consummated. It is important to note that Henry himself afterwards admitted the truth of this assertion. For seventeen years the royal couple lived a life of uninterrupted happiness. Five children were born to them, three sons and two daughters, of whom Mary, who subsequently wore the crown, alone survived. In these days the young king was a capable and beloved monarch, and was above all a Catholic king. Twelve years after his coronation he formally

took sides against the German heresiarch, Martin Luther, against whom he wrote his famous *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, a "Defence of the Seven Sacraments." Herein he vindicated the Church's dogmatic teaching regarding the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Supremacy of the Papacy, ably refuting every false statement and defective argument of his adversary. The brilliant polemics of the royal theologian won for him the title of "Defensor Fidei," Defender of the Faith, which was conferred on him by Pope Leo X, in a Bull which begins with these words: "Leo, servant of the servants of the Lord, to his most dear son, Henry, King of England, Defender of the Faith, all health and happiness."

But the soul-destroying sin of lust soon changed the once popular Catholic king into a merciless enemy of the Church, a blasphemer of all that he had once held most sacred, a repudiator and murderer of women whom he called wife, the executioner of saints, and the pillager of monasteries. As Cobbett puts it: "The tyrant's passions were now in motion and he resolved to gratify his *beastly lust*, cost what it might in reputation, in treasure, and in blood."

He suddenly grew tired of his devoted queen, Catherine, when, at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," his eyes were held by Nan de Boulein, maid-of-honour to Queen Claude of France. The beauty of her hazel eyes, and rich black hair reaching in silken ringlets to her girdle, destroyed his conjugal loyalty and robbed him of all sense of honour. Dr. Bayley, in his life of Bishop Fisher, positively asserts that Anne Boleyn was the king's own daughter, and that Lady Boleyn, her mother, said to the king, when he was about to marry Anne: "Sir, for the reverence of God, take heed what you do in marrying my daughter, for, if you record your own conscience well, she is your

own daughter as well as mine." To which the king replied: "Whose daughter soever she is, she shall be my wife." The king suddenly found himself troubled with scruples as to the lawfulness of his marriage with his deceased brother's wife, though he knew that the former marriage had never been consummated, and he had received the necessary dispensation from the Pope. He forthwith requested Pope Clement VII to declare his marriage invalid. The divorce legislation lasted for several years, and was the subject for discussion in all the courts of Europe, where queens and noble ladies denounced King Henry as "a licentious and abominable person." "The matrons of England," wrote the conscientious and truthful Dean Hook, "rose up in chaste indignation at King Henry's treatment of his wife—an indignation imparted to their children, and handed on from generation to generation, until it covered with everlasting infamy the name of a once popular king." But even they were not alone in their judgment, for, in spite of the greatest tyranny and liberal bribes, men of high principles in the universities and throughout the kingdom could not be forced to favour a lustful abomination.

At last it was agreed that the question should be tried before the papal legate, Cardinal Campeggio, and Wolsey. The miserable trial of an innocent wife fell through, Campeggio referring the decision to the Pope. He, hoping that the king might come to a better mind and thus avoid a breach with the Holy See, and fearing the consequences of an unfavourable decision for English Catholicism, delayed his reply. Henry had, meanwhile, gone through the form of marriage with Anne Boleyn privately (January, 1533), and it had now become urgently necessary to "make an honest woman of her," she being with child. This would soon become evident to all, and an immediate public

announcement of his marriage was imperative. He now showed that he would allow nothing to stay the repudiation of his lawful wife in favour of his paramour, that he would hold nothing sacred that barred the lawless union. He, therefore, forbade the paying of the "first fruits to the Pope." It was a threat, a violent gesture, the first skirmish. The clergy and the universities were also threatened should they not decide in his favour. Gold from the royal treasury was liberally poured out to advance the nefarious design. A plenary pardon was offered to all who should recognise the king as the Supreme Head of the Church in England. If the Pope would not bow to his will he would make himself pope and give himself the required dispensation. The Pope, acting on the unanimous decision of the Sacred College, now gave a definite sentence, declaring the marriage between Henry and Catherine of Aragon to be lawful and valid. "That which *God* hath joined let *no man* put asunder" was the law of God, and it held for the rich as well as for the poor, for the monarch as well as the peasant. Not even the fear of frightful persecutions for his English children, not even the separation by cruel lust of Catholic England from its loyalty to the Holy See, could induce the Holy Father to set aside the Divine Law. The die was cast. The enraged one-time "Defender of the Faith" forthwith proclaimed that the Pope had no longer any jurisdiction in England. It was as when the man with a determined mind to go on sinning tries to persuade himself that there is no God and no Divine Law. His earlier life and his theological lore were Henry's surest condemnation at this unhappy juncture. No one ever sinned more deliberately than he did.

Having thrown over his allegiance to Christ's vicar on earth a red lust of rage took possession of him. Every whispering of conscience was stifled. He would

wipe out in England every vestige of the Catholic Church, the unbribable integrity of whose head had humiliated him by showing him to the world for what he was.

The Oath of Supremacy was now imposed upon all, an oath that no Catholic could take. Those who refused to violate their conscience were adjudged guilty of high treason. The Pope's name was no longer heard in the land. All bishops were simultaneously suspended, and only had their jurisdiction restored should they prove false to their sacred calling by accepting Henry in place of Peter. The bishops, with the exception of the saintly Fisher, were terrified into acquiescence, or, at least, into silence. Many of the clergy yielded under pressure or through self-interest. We are forced regretfully to record the defection of a few Carmelites among the number. Under date 1531 (Lat., p. 5) there is to be found in the Record Office (No. 53) a Treatise by John, Provincial of the Carmelite Friars, in favour of the divorce, in the course of which he quotes, at full length, a hymn to the Trinity, in Leonine verse, by Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans. The document is imperfect at the beginning, beautifully written and illuminated, with broad margins. It concludes: "Filiae Syon exultent in Rege suo. Vivat Rex. Amen." This renegade was John Bird, D.D., Provincial of the English Province from 1516-19, and probably for a second term at the time of his defection. He took the oath of supremacy and was, by way of recompense, appointed one of the preachers for Easter, 1537, and, on the 15th of June of the same year, reformed bishop of Penrith. In his sermons he zealously impugned the Pope's supremacy and servilely flattered the royal usurper. He was later appointed Protestant bishop of Bangor and Chester, but when Queen Mary came to the throne he was ejected from

the latter see because, it was said, he was married. Others who had previously apostatised were the historian, John Bale, afterwards Protestant bishop of Ossory, and George Burnham, prior of the White Friars, London, at the time of the suppression. "But," writes Cobbett, "there were many of the parochial clergy and a large part of the monks and friars, who were not thus acquiescent, or silent. These, by their sermons and by their conversations, made the truth pretty generally known to the people at large; and, though they did not succeed in preventing the calamities which they saw approaching, they rescued the character of their country from the infamy of silent submission." From the foregoing chapters of this part of our work it will be seen that the Carmelites as a body remained loyal to the Holy See and unremittingly and fearlessly fought the reformers. We will find later further instances of their heroic defence of the Catholic truth in the face of threatened persecution and death. Thus, for instance, we find in the Record Office a document (No. 65), dated the 10th of June, 1537, in which we read: "The information of Francis Turpyn of words and preaching of Robert Austyn, White Friar, in the Church of St. Bride's, in Fleet Street, the 10th day of June of this present month: (1) That he did not pray for grace; (2) That he omitted the reverence due to his prince and Supreme Head under God; (3) That he did not preach against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; (4) That he abused a preacher who had preached at St. Bride's on the Gospel of the rich man and Lazarus for applying it to women; (5) Item, he said although the rich man in the parable had no name yet he might right well have his name called Nemo; (6) He had denounced the same preacher for having called Our Lady 'a maintainer of bawdry.' As he left the pulpit informant asked him by whose

authority he preached, and he replied by the bishop of London's." Austyn was apprehended, but we are not told what punishment was meted out to him.

After the two awful crimes which the king had now committed the confiscation of ecclesiastical property was an easy and natural step. It would be hard to force the people from their allegiance to the Pope whilst they had the religious orders in their midst to encourage them to resistance. It was good policy to destroy the officers before attacking the main army. An army without leaders is only a mob. Monasticism, we use the word in its general sense, was the great bulwark of the Papal system. The monks and friars were the most direct advocates of the supreme authority of the Papacy, and they operated most influentially to create dissatisfaction with the king's assumption of supremacy in things spiritual. Cardinal Wolsey had set an example as to how to deal with this source of trouble. That unscrupulous partisan of the Reformation, D'Aubigne, writes: "Wishing to deserve the name of 'Ptolemy' conferred on him by Erasmus, he (Wolsey) undertook to build two large colleges, one at Ipswich, his native town, the other at Oxford; and found it convenient to take the money necessary for their endowment, not from his own purse, but from the purses of the monks. He pointed out to the Pope twenty-two monasteries in which (he said) vice and impiety had taken up their abode. The Pope granted their secularization, and Wolsey having thus procured a revenue of £2,000 sterling, laid the foundations of his college, traced out various courts, and constructed spacious kitchens. He fell into disgrace before he had completed his work." His last days were embittered by the news that Henry intended to suppress the two colleges. That at Ipswich perished in fact, but Christ's Church, Oxford, survived. This

story of pillage gives a sinister meaning to Shakespeare's lines :

" Ever witness for him
Those twins of learning that he reared in you
Ipswich and Oxford ! one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good he did it;
The other unfinished yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue."

Speaking of the source of income for the carrying out of this project the learned Goodwin, Bishop of Hereford, wrote that " like the gold of Thoulouse, it brought either destruction or some other great calamity on all who touched it." " Two of them," he adds, " fought a duel, one was killed and the other hanged, a third threw himself headlong into a well, a fourth, though a rich man, came after to beg his bread; Wolsey was thrown out of the king's favour and died miserably, and the Pope, who gave his consent to the dissolution, lived to see Rome taken and plundered by the imperial army, himself and cardinals made prisoners, and become the sport and mockery of the licentious multitude."

The example had been set for the imperial plunderer, who was too blinded by passion to take warning of the consequences.

The notorious Thomas Cromwell, whom Cobbett calls " ruffian," " miscreant," and other such descriptive names, as the king's spiritual vicar and the successor of the martyred Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, was given special authority to visit the monastic houses in the year 1535. The bigot Hume candidly admits that the object of this visitation was to discover such irregularities as would furnish a pretext for their

suppression. As a matter of fact the visitation was the merest farce, the monasteries having already been doomed before ever the visitation took place. It was only under pretence of acting on the " Black Book " report that the suppression of all the smaller religious houses was decreed, and their property confiscated to the crown. There can be no doubt now that Parliament reluctantly passed the Act, being forced thereto by the grasping king. To justify his action Cromwell took good care that the characters of the monks and friars and nuns should be deliberately and unscrupulously blackened. Every trivial irregularity was seized upon and magnified into a great immorality. Where even these could not be found false witnesses were bought over to invent them, and the most scandalous expedients resorted to, to implicate the innocent. We read that handsome young men were even quartered on the nuns with the express purpose of destroying their virtue or filching from them their good name. In his *Church History of Britain*, Dr. Fuller, who is never over partial to the Catholic Church, gives the following contemporary report: " The papists do heavily complain, (how justly, God alone knoweth), that a third sort of agents were employed, to practise on the chastity of the nuns, so to surprise them into wantoness," and when they did not succeed they did not hesitate to swear that they had done so. He gives disgusting instances, and the following consequence of this " damnable act." " One of the aforesaid gentlemen, with grief and remorse of heart, did in private confess the same to Sir William Stanley, knight, afterwards employed in the Low Countries; avowing that nothing in all his life lay more heavy on his conscience than this false accusation of these innocents; and the said Sir William told this passage to a noble Catholic still alive."

No doubt Cromwell found much support in his nefarious campaign in the writings of such a man as Erasmus. The common run of people are ever unduly influenced by a great name, and accept the pronouncements of a great scholar as having the mark of infallibility on what topic soever he may write, whether it be within or without the range of his studies. Against such a one the clearly expressed opinion of the most reliable historians may not prevail. This is, of course, illogical. The fact that a man may be an eminent artist does not necessarily give special value to his political opinions, nor need a great humanist be an authority on spiritual matters nor a fit censor of the moral life of others. He may be wholly ignorant of ascetics, or be blinded in his judgment by an unconquerable, because an unrecognised, prejudice. Thus when Erasmus would put the responsibility for the "tragedy" of Lutheranism upon the theologians, and in part especially upon the Dominicans and the Carmelites, because of some want of restraint in the language in which they refuted their most indelicate antagonists, we must weigh his opinion merely for what it is worth. At the age of thirteen he had been sent by his guardians to a purely ecclesiastical school and after three years, contrary to his own wishes, was induced to enter the novitiate of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Stein, near Gonda. Here he was professed and eventually ordained to the priesthood. But he never had had any vocation for the religious life, and must have been miserable under the restraint it imposed on his ambitious spirit until his release from his religious obligations by the Pope in 1514. The result was that he conceived an unrelenting hatred of the religious orders, to which he ever afterwards showed an uncompromising hostility. Therefore, wonderful genius though he was, his opinion on this topic is scarcely

worth considering. No doubt he was on the best of terms with the greatest English churchmen of his time, especially with William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester. It was in the London house of Blessed Thomas More, and at the latter's suggestion, that he wrote his famous *Encomium Moriae*. Yet, even though this work were, as Cardinal Gasquet puts it, "intended mainly as a playful, if somewhat ill-judged and severe lampoon on some patent abuses, and in no sense an attack upon the ecclesiastical system of the Catholic Church," it would not fail to influence the minds of those who were not so well informed as Sir Thomas More and others. Published on the eve of the Reformation, it supplied a pretext and support to the grasping monarch and his minions who were but looking for excuses for the wholesale suppression that took place later. Furthermore, it must have done much to reconcile the people to the suppression of the monasteries. As a matter of fact, the ground on which the smaller monasteries were suppressed was, that their income was less than two hundred pounds a year. In the Act we read that, in the great and solemn monasteries of the realm "religion was well observed and God well served." However, even the larger monasteries were not long spared, since the money gained as the result of the pillage of the smaller houses was not up to the king's expectations. Complaining to Cromwell of the rapacity of his minions for their share in the spoil Henry exclaimed: "By our Lady, the cormorants, when they have got the garbage, will devour the dish." Cromwell reminded him that there was much more yet to come. "Tut, man," said the king, "my whole realm would not staunch their maws."

But the people were not willing to yield up their Faith and all that made for its preservation without a

struggle, and we should ever remember that England never " lost " it. That priceless possession was brutally torn from them, and many there were who preferred torture and death to transferring their allegiance from Christ's Vicar to the self-constituted, lustful, incestous, and bloody head of the English Church. In 1536 an insurrection broke out in the northern counties of England, where the people still adhered to the old Faith. It became known as " The Pilgrimage of Grace." Its object was to protest against the recent innovations, and particularly against the expulsion of the religious from their monasteries. The insurgents bound themselves by oath to stand by each other " for the love which they bore to Almighty God, His Faith, and the Holy Church." " On their banners," writes Lingard, " were painted the image of Christ crucified, and the chalice and host, the emblems of their belief; and wherever the pilgrims appeared, the ejected monks were placed in the monasteries and the inhabitants were compelled to take the oath and to join the army." At first the revolt was confined to the commoners, but the nobility soon threw in their lot with them. In many cases these latter had founded the monasteries, and they claimed that the stolen revenues should, instead of going to the crown, be returned to them. But far from doing any good beyond registering an indignant protest, the insurrection but served as an excuse, and the ruin of the remaining monasteries, including the larger houses, was accelerated, on the groundless charge that the religious had taken part in the insurrection. Thus, though the lords used the White Friars, Doncaster, as their headquarters while negotiating with Robert Aske at that town, the prior, Laurence Cooke, was accused of supporting the rebellion. He was imprisoned in the Tower and in Newgate, condemned by Act of Attainder just a few

days before Cromwell's fall, but was pardoned on the 2nd of October, 1540. It would seem, however, that the pardon arrived too late to save his life.[1] Meanwhile, in the southern counties fair promises were made and large bribes offered to the abbots and more considerable personages of the various houses. But when these were spurned fraud, threats, and violence were resorted to. By an Act of Parliament of 1539, " vesting in the Crown all properties, moveable and immoveable, of the monastic establishments, which either had already been or should hereafter be suppressed, abolished, or surrendered," the work of suppression was completed. " By the year 1540," writes Alzog, " the work of ' secularization ' had been completed; the royal will had been carried out with shocking vandalism; works that had cost years of skill and patient labour, the triumphs of art, and the monuments of science, all were destroyed. Nor did the hatred of the ancient Faith stop here. The tombs of St. Augustine, the Apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, and St. Thomas à Becket, martyr to his defence of ecclesiastical immunities, were despoiled, and the ashes they contained flung to the winds. Even the tomb of King Alfred, did not escape the hands of the ravager."

It is interesting to note that the friars were not included in the original act of suppression of 1536. Lingard gives the reason : " Probably because, as they did not possess landed property little plunder was to be derived from their suppression."

By the year 1513 certain abuses would seem to have crept in. Under date the 10th of April, 1513, we find a letter[2] from Margaret of Savoy to Henry VIII

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[1] In the list of English Martyrs and Confessors, among the " praetermissi," occurs the name of Laurence Cook, " who was executed on the scaffold in the year 1540."

[2] No. 3873, Galba, b. xiii, 74, British Museum.

requesting leave for Estienne de Brixia, Vicar General of the Carmelites, to visit the houses of the said Order in England for the purpose of correcting abuses. They could not have been of any serious nature, as we hear no more of them.

In 1534 visitors were appointed, but apparently not yet with a view to the suppression of the friaries. Under the heading "Grants," April, 1534, No. 18, we find in the papers of the Record Office the following notice of two of the most notorious and vile of these visitors: "George Brown, prior of the Augustinian Hermits, London, appointed by the king prior provincial of the whole order of the Friars Hermits in England, and John Hulsey, appointed provincial prior of the whole order of Friars Preachers, professors of sacred theology. Commission to visit the houses of all the friars of whatever order; viz., Friars Minor of the order of St. Francis, Friars Preachers of the order of St. Dominic, Friars Hermits of the order of St. Augustine, Carmelite Friars of the order of St. Mary, and Crossed Friars;—to make enquiry concerning their lives, morals, and fealty to the king, to instruct them how to conduct themselves with safety, and to reduce them to uniformity, calling in, if necessary, the aid of the secular arm."

The friars were now brought under the general law, and the persecution of the monks was repeated in their case. Then came the final commission for the general suppression. On the 6th of February, 1538, Richard Ingleworth, Suffragan of Dover, an ex-friar, was commissioned by the king to visit all the houses of the friars in England, with power (detailed) to examine and correct abuses, the said bishop having been deputed to the above office by Thomas Cromwell. The visitor, anxious to gain the favour of the king and his powerful minister, wasted no time in carrying out his commission,

and the surrender of the friaries followed one upon another in quick succession. We may be pardoned for summarising the events of the following months in the vivid words of Cobbett: "Never in all probability, since the world began, was there so rich a harvest of plunder. The ruffians of Cromwell entered the convents; they tore down the altars to get away the gold and silver; ransacked the chests and drawers of the monks and nuns; tore off the covers of books that were ornamented with precious metals. These books were all in *manuscript*. Single books had taken, in many cases, half a long life-time to compose and to copy out fair. Whole libraries, the getting together of which had taken ages upon ages, and had cost immense sums of money, were scattered abroad by these hellish ruffians, when they had robbed the covers of their rich ornaments. The ready money, in the convents, down to the last shilling was seized. In short, the most rapacious and unfeeling soldiery never in town delivered up to be sacked, proceeded with greediness, shamelessness, and brutality to be at all compared with those of these heroes of the Protestant Reformation; and this, observe, towards persons, women as well as men, who had committed no crime known to the laws, who had no crime regularly laid to their charge, who had had no hearing in their defence, a large part of whom had, within a year, been declared, by this same Parliament, to lead most godly and useful lives, the whole of whose possessions were guaranteed to them by the Great Charter as much as the king's crown was to him, and whose estates were enjoyed for the benefit of the poor as well as for that of these plundered possessors themselves." Down to the last shilling was seized! Bishop Roland Lee writing to Cromwell concerning the suppression of the Carmelite house at Ludlow, the 30th of June, 1587,

says: "Of late Thomas Vernon, founder of a friar house in Ludlowe, brought into this council two cruets and a pax of silver, two chalices, one patent, and the foot of a monstrall to bear the Sacrament on Corpus Christi Day, which the friars had hidden in a ditch at the back of their said house in an old hose. Mr. Sulyarde and I would bestow it in the re-edification of Montgomery Castle. Mr. Vernon desires your favour that he may have the said friar house, as his ancestors were the founders, and there is such an ill rule kept. The castle of Montgomery, one of the keys of the country, is far out of repair."

The convents of the Carmelites in England were first reduced to the most abject poverty. Then the friars were sent adrift, their convents, many of which had been established by the royal predecessors of Henry VIII, being either destroyed or handed over to the favourites of the court as a reward for their zealous labours in the matter of the suppressions.

"One holy Henry rear'd the Gothic walls,
And bade the pious inmates rest in peace;
Another Henry the kind gift recalls,
And bids devotion's hallow'd echoes cease."

But what is most to be regretted is that the libraries were not spared. Had their valuable contents been transferred to the national libraries or the universities it would have mitigated the vandalism somewhat. But the books and records were scattered abroad without a hope of their being recovered, and history and literature have been left all the poorer in consequence. The English White Friars had long been the most active and intellectual members of the Carmelite Order. They were just the type of literary men who would have made a point of keeping exact

records, just as they so well preserved their writings; but writings and records were committed to the flames or otherwise destroyed by the fury of a rapacious tyrant, and historical knowledge of incalculable worth to the Carmelite Order was lost for ever. Here one would have surely found confirmation of the ancient traditions of the Order. Above all, here one would surely have discovered first-hand material relating to the Scapular vision of St. Simon Stock that would have precluded all possibility of doubt as to the authenticity of that remarkable happening. The library at White Friars, London, was one of the most important in Europe. Those at Oxford and Cambridge were treasure-houses of valuable historical and theological lore. But nothing was spared, nothing was sacred to men who desired to destroy every vestige of the ancient religion of England, and, because of this, these very records would have been the first to be marked down for destruction.

The monasteries having been destroyed or let out to secular uses the religious were cast out on the high-roads, penniless, doomed to eke out a miserable existence in any way they might. They could not, of course, exercise the sacred functions of their priestly office. They dared not appear openly even as Catholics. Persecution followed them everywhere. Some, unfortunately, fell away under suffering, but the vast majority, remaining faithful, were compelled to retire into private life to drag out their allotted span wearily until God should be pleased to call them to Himself.

"To roam a dreary world in deep despair—
No friend, no home, no refuge, but their God."

The people had been told that when the religious houses had been pillaged the spoils would be used for

the public benefit, that taxes would no longer be imposed, and poverty be unknown. But the event was far otherwise. Pauperism actually increased. The poor who had been fed at the monastery gates now wandered in crowds over the country, sometimes extorting alms by force, as Lingard testifies. To suppress this consequence of the royal robberies a law was passed according to which whosoever " lived idly and loiteringly for the space of three days " was described as a vagabond. Two justices of the peace might order the letter V (signifying vagabond) to be burnt on his breast, after which he would have to serve the informer during two years as his slave, liable to be chained and beaten at his master's will. Should the unfortunate escape and absent himself for a fortnight the letter S (slave) was burned on his cheek and forehead and he became a slave for life. How the poor must now have yearned for the days when the monks and friars used to look to their wants and care for them as a sacred duty ! How they must have regretted the passing of the Charity of God's Church that had been supplanted by the barbarous laws passed against them by the hierarchy of King Henry's English Church ! And this is what is still called the glorious Reformation ! With the sacking of the religious houses learning rapidly decayed. The learned historian of Oxford, Anthony Wood, tells us that " the pursuits of learning were so discouraged that the students fell off; some of them were distracted, others pined away in grief, spent their time in melancholy, and wandered up and down the country discontentedly. The Universities were called stables of asses and schools of the devil. Missals were chopped in pieces with hatchets: college libraries were plundered and burnt. The large divinity schools of Oxford were planted with cabbages; and the laundresses dried clothes in the schools of art." The

grammar schools, which had been founded to bring up poor men's sons in learning, and which were spread throughout the country, were swept away. General ignorance was another consequence of the glorious Reformation. When the religious houses were closed or destroyed the towns fell into decay. Charles Knight in his *The Land We Live In*, writing of Winchester, says: "The reign of Henry VIII, and his seizure of the remains of the religious houses, completed the ruin of the city: with the decline of monasticism, the last remnant of importance departed. All the four Orders of friars,—the Carmelites in Kingsgatestreet; the Augustines near Southgate; the Dominicans, at Eastgate; and the Franciscans in Middle-Brook—all of which had been established here since the thirteenth century; the time in which they sprang up,—were at once dissolved; and the remains of their different houses seized."

The English Province of the Carmelite Order had reached the summit of its greatness on the eve of the Reformation. As the result of our researches we have discovered what we believe to be the complete list of the pre-Reformation houses—fifty-one in England, three in Wales, one in Calais, and one in Bordeaux—all of which we have noticed in our previous chapters, giving some details of the suppression and subsequent history of most of them. Of this once glorious province only a few poor relics remain to remind an unfortunate people of the labours of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel for their well-being and sanctification.

The surrender of the London priory was first demanded on the 17th of April, 1534, on which occasion the prior, George Burnham, acknowledged the supremacy of the king, and took the oath as has been related. In recognition of his perfidy the monastery was spared for the time being, Burnham being kept

in office by the secular authorities. Four years later, however, on the 10th of November, 1538, this famous monastery was suppressed. The original document of the surrender with the seal intact is still preserved in the Public Record Office. It is signed by John Gibbys, the last prior, Thomas Lemster, "sacre pagine bach," and eleven friars, constituting the last community of White Friars. Their names are, consequently, worth preserving, and so we give them in the form in which they appear on the document. They are: Nicholas Prane, Willm. Adrews, John Wormyton, Thomas Hellyer, Thomas Dubdik, John Eglesto, Johem Symyng, Guidone Lilly, Thoma Foden, Henricu Crowder, and Philip Day.[1]

Soon after the dissolution of the monastery the church and other buildings connected with it were taken down. So complete was the destruction of the church that for centuries the exact site was unknown. The Chapter-house and other parts were conferred by the king on his physician, Dr. Henry Butts, the enemy of Cranmer, whose name has been immortalised by Shakespeare. The library, fratry, kitchen, and some other buildings, with the convent garden, went to Richard Morrison, the king's armourer, and so on. The great hall or refectory was converted into the White Friars Theatre. Whitefriars, however, still retained the privilege of Sanctuary, and, accordingly, from the days of James I to those of William III, it afforded an asylum to all the underworld of London. The privilege was not abolished till the year 1697.

Of the original White Friars Priory only one relic remains—one tiny link with a splendid past. It is a small vault, arched and built of solid masonry, the entrance to which lies through No. 4 Brittons Court,

[1] A photograph of this document may be seen in *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries.*

Whitefriars Street, London, which will be found to be almost identically as in the days when it was used by the Carmelites. The present owners are jealous for its preservation, but it may pass any day into the hands of those who have less consideration for the relics of antiquity, especially in such a busy centre as this is. A full and loving description of the vault, with an earnest plea for legislation that would make it secure from inconsiderate destruction, is to be found in the works of Mr. Bell, *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries* and *More About Unknown London*, in the former of which especially there is much detail of the greatest interest to the student of the past glories of this now notorious district. The last fragments of the river face of the old monastery were doomed to speedy destruction in the year 1851.

We now come to the last days of the great Oxford foundation. The Carmelites were the first to be suppressed here. On the 7th of July, 1538, Dr. John London, of whom more hereafter, wrote to Wriothesley stating that he had received the king's commission to himself and others to look in upon the friars in Oxford. He states that he found the White Friars and the Augustines most out of order, " and in such poverty that if they do not forsake their houses, their houses will forsake them. We are moving them to put themselves and their houses in the king's hands. Two have already done so. A White Friar who was bishop of Hereford [1] about 120 years ago gave lands to the abbeys of Westminster and Ensham subject to a pension of £4 and £3 to the White Friars in Oxford. The present prior of the White Friars has sold the annuity to the abbot of Ensham for £40, and divided the money. He is now in London to make a similar bargain with

[1] Robert Mascall.

the abbot of Westminster. Has staid his purpose here at home. This house being of the king's foundation, and they being no proprietaries in common, supposes this sale to the abbot of Ensham is not very sure. If so, these two free things are meet for Cromwell. If he does not beg them others will." The Carmelites of Oxford had anticipated the suppression and had sold one annuity and were trying to sell the other. What little ground they had they let for thirty years, and they had begun to sell the elms which grew about the house. "Two priors there," writes the visitor, in evident chagrin at being thus cleverly tricked, "have sold in manner all their jewels and plate. The house is ruinous." Having disposed of all they could before the visitor could plunder it, and knowing that there was nothing left for them to do but surrender, the friars, on the same date that Dr. London visited them, petitioned him "in consideration of their poverty, which compels them to sell their jewels, plate, and wood, and will, if they continue, compel them to sell the stones and slates of their house, to obtain for them the king's licence to change their habits, putting their house at the king's disposal." Here was a splendid piece of irony—surely a case of the biter bitten. What a pity that others had not the wisdom of these Carmelite friars of Oxford!

The monastery of the White Friars of Oxford was dissolved in the year 1539. Most of the buildings were handed over to one Powell, who, with his children, pulled them down or sold them. There were always plenty of sycophants awaiting the suppressions in order to secure the tit-bits for themselves. On the 8th of July, 1541, William Banaster, Mayor of Oxford, wrote to Cromwell to the effect that "he had lived many years in Oxford, and borne such offices as he had been called into, with no form or fee but 4d. a day wages

of the king. Therefore, he asked him for the site of the White Friars for life, for now that he was waxing old he would be every day more unable to get his living." The great hall or refectory where several kings had celebrated with great solemnity the feasts of the Nativity and Easter, was destroyed in 1596, the stones being made over to St. John's College, " to the President and Fellowes of which the site of the said Priorie afterwards came," to make an enlargement to the library.

" So that," writes Wood, " whereas this place was formerly famous in several respects, viz., for the bringing forth and entertaining of princes, and in educating also of eminent scholars and the like, was within a few years become a desolate and rude place. There where many have highly merited in learning, doe now brute beasts feed; and there where hath stood a stately hall, are now ruinous hillocks remaining. However so it is that though it be exceedingly lessnd and lodged in obscurity, yet have the ruins a reverent respect and doe instruct the pensive beholder with an exemplary frailty."

Bones from the Friars' graveyard were dug up long afterwards at the end of Beauford Street. Of the buildings which had been the home of the Plantagenets only a stable or cowhouse remained in Wood's time.

In the year 1538 the White Friars at Cambridge, like those at Oxford, foreseeing the imminent dissolution of their monastery, thought to conclude a bargain beforehand with the President and Fellows of Queen's College. But they were baulked in their design by the issue of a Royal Commission to Dr. Page, Provost of King's; Dr. Mey, President of Queen's, and two Fellows of the latter College, commanding them to receive the surrender of the house in the king's name, " for his use until further knowledge of his pleasure, taking a

true and perfect inventory of the said House; and on the 8th of August this provisional surrender was concluded by the following deed,[1] in which the farce of a pretended willingness was, according to the custom, forced upon the despoiled community:

"Be it known to all men, that we George Legat prior of the house of friars Carmelites in Cambridge, commonly called the White Friars, and the convent of the said house by these present writings testifieth:

"That we the prior and convent aforesaid gladly, freely, and willingly, do give and grant and surrender into the hands of the right worshipful Mr. William Mey, doctor in law, civil master or president of the college of SS. Margaret and Bernard, commonly called the Queens' College in Cambridge, and to the fellows of the same college and their successors all our house and grounds called the White friars in Cambridge, with all and singular the appurtenances thereof and thereunto belonging. And we also by these present letters do testify that when we shall be required thereunto we shall depart from the said house and ground and give place unto them, and also shall be ready at all times to make writings and seal to all such writings as shall be devised by their learned council to lie in us for the confirmation and assurance of this our gift and deed towards them: so that our fact and deed be nothing prejudicial but allowed and approved of by our most dread and sovereign lord the king, in whose graces, power and pleasure, being the supreme head of this catholic church of England, we confess and acknowledge that it is to allow or disallow this our fact or deed.

"In witness whereof I the said prior have set my seal, and the convent aforesaid their own proper hand-

[1] For convenience we give the modern spelling and punctuation.

writings. Given in our chapter-house at Cambridge aforesaid the 8th day of August the year of the reign of our most sovereign lord King Henry the eight the XXX.

"Signed by me Friar Clement Thorpe
by me Friar William Smythe
by me Friar William Wylson."

On the conclusion of this temporary surrender the authorities of the College at once wrote to Thomas Cromwell, the king's secretary, begging him to definitely secure the monastery for them. This letter is still extant.[1]

On the 17th of August, 1538, the king issued his commission to Dr. George Daye, Provost of King's College, Dr. Mey, president of Queens', and Richard Wilkes and Thomas Smith, two of the fellows of Queens', to procure the surrender of the monastery, then to take possession of it for the king and to draw up a perfect inventory of their goods, which was to be sent to him. This commission is here subjoined:

"Henry the eight, by the grace of God King of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth immediately under God supreme head of the church of England. To our trusty and well-beloved chaplains, George Deye, Doctor of Divinity, provost of our college of Cambridge, William Maye, Doctor of Law, Master of the Queens' College within the same town, Richard Wilkes and Thomas Smyth, Masters of Arts, and to two of you, Greeting:

"For as much as we understand that the house of the White friars within that our town and university of Cambridge remaineth at this present in such state, as it is neither used to the honour of God nor to the benefit

[1] MS. Cotton, Faustina, C. vii, fol. 102.

of our commonwealth, being mindful for the conversion of it to a better purpose to take it into our own hands, We let you know that having special trust in your approved wisdoms and dexterities, We have named and appointed you that repairing unto the said house immediately on the receipt hereof, ye shall receive of the prior there in our name and to our use sufficient writing under the convent seal of the said house, as by your discretion shall be thought meet and convenient for the surrender of the same; The which surrender so made We will that ye take possession of the said house, and so to keep the same to our use till further knowledge of our pleasure, taking a true and perfect inventory of all the goods of the said house, the which our pleasure is you shall send unto us incontinently to the end that our further mind may thereon be declared unto you with more speed and celerity. And these our letters shall be your warrant in this behalf. Given under our privy seal at the castle of Arundell the 16th day of August, the 30th year of our reign.

"Signed. Thomas Cromwell."

The commissioners lost no time in extorting from the friars the required writing. Only ten days elapsed between the issue of the king's commission and the final surrender of the friary. Two copies of the deed are preserved in the college treasury, dated the 28th of August. It is to the same effect as the previous deed of surrender, only more diffuse. It is signed in the margin: Clement Hubbard, alias Thorpe; Peter Alanus, William Smythe, William Wilson, Edward Elysley, Thomas Meyre.

The inventory of all the moveables belonging to the friars was taken on the 6th of September, and may be seen in Searle's History.[1] This author adds: "From

[1] Vol. I, pp. 226-8.

this meagre inventory we must conjecture either that the Carmelites were a very poor community, which after an existence of 250 years seems hardly possible to this extent, or that they had made away with their more valuable effects before this date, seeing their destruction resolved upon."

The exiled community had scarcely taken their departure from this ancient home of their Order when the college authorities, like true reformers, began to pull the house to pieces, as the bursar's accounts show. Indeed it seemed as if they could not begin soon enough to display their zeal for the edification of Henry and Cromwell. Almost immediately the windows were broken, the walls thrown down, and the iron fittings carried away, the dismantling being continued till there was not a stone left upon a stone to commemorate the existence of this celebrated and historic religious house on the banks of the Granta.

The forced departure of the friars from this beautiful spot where the peace of God had seemed so safe must have been a bitter trial. It was nigh three hundred years since their spiritual forefathers had first taken up their abode in the silent woods by the sluggish stream that they had learned to love. The lowly convent of these days had been consecrated by a striking evidence of the maternal love of Mary for the great St. Simon Stock and the Order he governed. In their simple piety the Carmelites had been so generous. The development of the intellect was a tribute to Him Who had deigned to make man in His own image and likeness. They were God's stewards to use His gifts for His greater honour and glory, so they gave the ground required for the erection of Queens' College. How could they have forseen that the authorities of this very college would, three centuries hence, have behaved towards their Order as the savage beast seek-

ing his prey hungrily in his native wilds? And the sickening thought came to them also of the Carmelite Confraternity of lay folk which their sainted General had established there, of that St. Mary's Gild that had joined interests with the Gild of Corpus Christi to found and endow another college for the higher education of the young friars of the Order. To what uses would that gift of theirs be put in the heretical hands of Henry's minions? This homeless exile was then the world's recompense for all the good they had done it. Well so be it. They and their persecutors were alike in the Hands of God, Who would know where to punish and where to reward. And thus the Carmelite name was known no more in Cambridge.

The subsequent fate of this house is to be found in the Queens' College Muniments.

On the 27th of November, 1541, William Leghe, Esq., and Thomas Myldemaye, Officers of the Court of Augumentations, sold to William Maye, LL.D., Master of Queens' College, for £20, to be paid to the king's use at Michaelmas then next, all the stone, slate, tile, timber, iron and glass of the late house of the White Friars within the University of Cambridge. The old building materials were re-sold by the college in the following years for £60, and not even a rubble heap was left to mark the site.

On the 1st of April, 1542, the king by a Lease under seal of the Court of Augumentations demised to William May, clerk, the site of the lately dissolved House of Friars Carmelites within the town of Cambridge, and all gardens, land, and soil within the site, circuit, and precinct of the same House (except a parcel of land granted to the Master and Fellows of King's College) for 21 years, at the annual rent of 13*s.* 4*d.*

On the 12th of September, 1544, the king granted

the said site to John Eyre, of Bury St. Edmunds, Esq., who, on the 8th of November of the same year, conveyed the same premises to William May.

On the 30th of November Dr. May *sold* the site to the President and Fellows of Queens' College, with the intent, as he adds in a memorandum of the 10th of December on the back of the deed, that the site " which he had *purchased* with the college money of master Eyre " should be made sure unto the said college. Surely a disinterested benefactor !

In the Library of Queens' College on the north side are five windows, the glass of which was brought from the old monastery. They are each of two lights, and are glazed with quarries of various patterns, while in the upper part of each light is inserted in a cameo of about ten inches in diameter the bust of a Carmelite friar. These were evidently once highly coloured, but have faded. Each wears a head-dress of black, shaped like a smoker's cap, which we conclude to represent the Doctor's cap, and each is wearing the White Mantle. A narrow border of red and blue glass runs round each light. In the bottom strip, in a few cases, parts of inscriptions are inserted at haphazard, which were evidently the names and titles of those friars represented.

In the session of Parliament, which began on the 14th of January, 1543-4, and act was passed for the paving of Cambridge, ordering that that part of the street in front of each house should be paved by the owner of the house. Accordingly Queens' College paved all the roads running round it and in front of their almshouses in Smallbridges Street, now Silver Street. Part of the necessary paving-stones came from the old monastery.

Among the original letters in the British Museum, dealing with the suppression of the monasteries, is one written to Cromwell by Richard Devorans, Reformation

bishop of Dover, during the latter's visitation of Gloucester. Among other houses it mentions one of the White Friars in Brystowe, which is not found in the Monasticon. The letter is dated the 25th of July, 1538. This house was evidently very poor, for Devorans writes: "the wyche all that was in yt ys lytyll more than payd the dettes." He adds, however, that "it is a goodly building, meet for a great man, no rents but their gardens." "The prior and sexton were gone before his last being there. He made sure of all the substance that was left." In the same letter he mentions the house at Gloucester which was "but a small house, and in decay." Later there is a significant passage. We translate it, for convenience, into modern spelling: "My conscience giveth me no authority to put any out without they give up their houses; but if that I knew your pleasure, I may find causes sufficient to put them out of many places, for their misliving and for disobeying the instructions and the king's acts." There is an enclosure addressed to "my singular good Lord Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal," which reads: "I beseech your lordship to have discharge for these friars to change their apparel," and in the appended list we find

The White Friars of Gloucester (3 friars).
The White Friars of Brystowe (4 friars).
The White Friars of Marlborough (5 friars).

In a postscript we read: "I want iii. or iiii. freers of the Austin and Wheyte Freeres of Winchester. I lefte the boke at hom. If ye wold be so gode to send me iii. or iiii. waranttes with a space for ther namys I wer bonde to yow."

The inventory made out by Devorans on the occasion of the suppression of the Gloucester convent is as follows:

"Inventory of the White Friars of Gloucester, and sold by the visitor, except a little chalice. Vestments of white, blue, and red. A requiem vestment lacking an alb, an old banner cloth, 8 chasubles, 2 altar cloths, old and rent. Our Lady's coat. A cross, staff, and lamp. A pair of organs, 3*s.* 4*d.* A foot for the cross, and a holy water stoup. Kitchen stuff and bedding. 2 small beds in the steeple. Total £8 14*s.* 8*d.* Paid to the friars for debts, etc., £3 19*s.* The house in custody of Thomas Bell, younger."

Dugdale writes of this house: "Fosbrooke says, Great part of the Friary seems to have been destroyed about the year 1567; yet in the reign of Queen Elizabeth several of the buildings belonging to it remained; and the House of Correction for the County of the City was appointed to be kept in some part of them. Some of the materials were used in the civil wars in the fortification of the City; and others, called the Gounder's Lodgings, were converted into a barn, which proved very useful to the City at the seige. As the site cannot now be distinguished, it is fit to note, that the House stood without the lower north gate, not far from Brook-Street, towards the west end of a meadow still called the Friars' Ground; for which the Corporation pay to the Crown a yearly quit-rent of 1*s.* 3*d.*"

One of the very few of the Carmelite houses left standing was one of the very first English foundations, the monastery of Aylesford in Kent. It was founded almost at the same time as Hulne Abbey in Northumberland and shares with it the honour of being the first Carmelite convent in England. It is still partly extant. Brayley, writing in 1808, says: "Nearly the whole of the conventual buildings are yet standing, and form a convenient, though not a splendid residence: Its ancient character, perhaps, has been better preserved than that of any other of the religious houses in

this country." Aylesford is three miles north of Maidstone, on the immediate east bank of the Medway. Just below the village, on the river bank, stood the convent. The remains of the original buildings are still in a good state of preservation, and to-day incorporated with a house called "The Friary." It would seem, however, as if most of the surviving buildings belonged to the fifteenth century. They consist of the south and west ranges of the cloister, including the two alleys of the cloister, which are incorporated in their respective ranges. Save for the series of windows opening into the garth they contain little of interest. The rest of the buildings, including the gatehouse, are almost entirely of a date soon after the suppression, when they were converted into a private residence. Richard Devorans, writing to Cromwell on the 25th of July, 1538, his report of the suppression of this house, says: "Since he left Cromwell, he has been to the White Friars of Aylesford. Much of their necessaries were sold. The convent says that two men came to the prior saying that his house was given away, and that they had commission to put them out at their pleasure, so they sold what they had and paid their debts." The surrender was made on the 15th of December, 1538. On the 13th of February, 1539, Cromwell wrote to Sir Thomas Wyat: "I have reserved for you the house of the Friars of Aylesford."

Dugdale writes: "King Henry the Eight, by indenture dated Nov. 20th in the 33rd year of his reign, granted in exchange to Sir Thomas Wyat, among other premises, the Site of this House, its precinct, and the lands belonging to it, by the service of the tenth part of a Knight's fee, at the yearly rent of 10*s.* 3*d.* In the reign of Queen Mary it was forfeited by his son, and remained in the Crown till Queen Elizabeth granted it to John Sedley. It is now in possession of the Earl

HULNE ABBEY

of Aylesford, in whose mansion and its offices many portions of the Friary buildings are still visible."

Sir Charles Sedley, the poet and dramatist, was born here in the year 1639.

Much of Hulne Abbey, the very first of the English foundations, is still standing, and the interesting and extensive ruins are well worth a visit. In his valuable work, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, published in 1808, Edward Wedlake Brayley writes:

Hulne Abbey stands in a woody and delightful solitude, in Hulne Park, three miles above Alnwick. . . . . Its outer walls and gateways are still very entire; but its numerous chapels, oratories, and offices, are much dilapidated. The most perfect part of it is a fine tower, which was fitted up in the Gothic style, by the late duke; on the wall adjoining is this inscription, in old English letters, in relief:

In the year of Christ Jhu m. cccc. iii & viii [1]
This towr was bilded by Sir Hen. Percy
The fourth erle of Northuberlad of gret honr & worth
That espoused Maud ye good lady full of virtue & bewty
Daughter to Sir Willm Herbert, right noble & hardy
Erle of Pembroch whose soules god save
And which his grace conserve ye buildr of this towr.

The tower was originally built by Henry Percy as a place of refuge for the monks to retire to in times of danger; for in the sudden irruptions of the Borderers of both nations, those rude men spared no place or person, however sacred, but laid all waste with fire and sword.

Of particular interest is the wonderfully preserved life-sized statue of the first prior, Ralph Fresburn, the

[1] Anno 1468; about the time he was restored to his father's possessions and title.

Crusader, standing in a natural position with hands upraised and joined as if in prayer. To students of the history of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and of the Scapular Tradition this relic is noteworthy as showing the form of the habit worn by the first arrivals from the East. No Scapular is shown, and the capuch, instead of tailing to a point behind, appears in the form of an inverted ogee arch, being strapped beneath the cincture.

There is little else left in England besides a poor fourteenth-century brick and stone gateway at Lynn, Norfolk, and the late-fourteenth century gatehouse at Stamford already mentioned in treating of that house.

"I do love these ancient ruins.
We never tread upon them but we get
Our foot upon some reverend history.
And questionless, here, in this open court
Which now lies naked to the injuries
Of stormy weather, some men lie interred,
Loved the church so well, and gave so largely to it,
They thought it should have canopied their homes
Till doomsday:"

Such was the tragic ending of the golden age of Carmel in England. The desecration makes one shudder with horror, the ruin overwhelms one with sadness. Only names are left, Whitefriars, Carmelite Street, The Friars Walk, to recall the days when "Merrie England" was Catholic England, and the brown and white habit of the Friars of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was known and loved throughout the length and breadth of the country. The churches and priories were sacked, burned, and razed to the ground, by a rapacious tyrant to gather in the wherewithal to fill the maws of his many concubines, to pay the price

of his "beastly lust," to reward his unscrupulous minions for the execution of his hellish will. Saints laid down their lives beneath the strokes of his axe and that of his daughter. The friars were cast out on the highways and byeways, penniless, with no hope but in the Justice of God, by the proud usurper of Divine Rights. But they had rightly placed their trust. The vengeance of an outraged God sought out in the end all the founders of the Glorious Reformation. In the last months of his reign the bloated monarch had become so unwieldy that he could scarcely move. His body became covered with painful ulcers. He knew no rest, but would start up in horror from a fitful sleep, and with a piercing scream cry out: "The friars, the friars; blood and block: see the friars come." At last, with a despairing cry, "All is lost," he expired and went to the rendering of his terrible account. When the body was being conveyed to Windsor a halt was made the first evening at Sion House, the famous Augustinian convent, which was one of the first religious houses to be confiscated to the Crown. The corpse was laid in an improvised chapel, when "the coffin of lead being riven and cloven," as a contemporary writer tells us, "all the pavement of the church was, with the fat and corrupt putrefied blood dropped out of the said corpse, foully imbrued."

We will mention only one other name, a name that has occurred frequently in the preceding pages, that of Dr. John London, Reformation visitor for the suppression of the religious houses. Before the close of Henry's reign Dr. London thought well to employ against some brother courtiers the arts which he had so successfully used against the inmates of the monasteries. Here, however, his arms were soon turned against himself. He was found guilty of perjury, was despoiled of all his wealth and dignities, and com-

pelled to ride through the streets of Windsor and Ockingham with his face to the horse's tail, and with a placard on his hat setting forth that he was a convicted perjurer. He was also declared guilty of incontinency with two women, mother and daughter, and put in the pillory at Oxford, where every voice might revile and every hand might hurl filth at him, and then he was thrust into the Fleet prison, where he soon after died miserably.

The Court of Augumentations had been established by Henry VIII in 1536, to determine the value of the lands and property, plate and goods, stolen from the English monasteries. From the records of this court we learn that the monastic goods seized in the dissolution were worth fifty millions of our money, *i.e.*, taking into account that values then and now stand in the ratio of 1 to 15. Henry, however, realised only fifteen millions from the lootings. With this enormous sum he did nothing useful, but squandered most of it, and was ever wanting more.

Edward VI continued the irreligious campaign. Amongst other means adopted by this latest persecutor to suppress Catholicism was that of perverting, by any and every means, the Doctors of the Academies and Universities. Here were still to be found Carmelites, as Pitseus and other writers tell us. A few of these, terrified by threats and seduced by fraud, went over to the king's side, but many of them afterwards abjured their heresy, as in the cases of John Barrett and John Bird. Some also continued to minister by stealth and at the risk of their lives. Father Spillman, S.J., in his *Englische Martyrer*, mentions three of the Order who were put to death, viz., "John" Pecock, 1st of June, 1537; Laurence Cook, Prior of Doncaster, 1st of August, 1540; and William Gibson.

In the reign of Queen Mary, as late as 1553, an attempt was made by those who still remained to revive the Order, but its new life was short. Under Elizabeth the practice of the Catholic religion ceased in England by the year 1559.

Such was the Protestant Reformation, such the end of the Carmelite and the other Orders in England, such the end of the perpetrators of the unholy deeds outlined in this chapter.

Further attempts were made at a later date to restore the ancient glory of Carmel. Father George Rainer proceeded to England to establish a mission there, but he was executed in the year 1613. The circumstances of his death are unknown to us, so we are not justified in calling it martyrdom. Further research may bring to light more detail, and perhaps place this courageous pioneer in the calendar of those who have suffered for the Faith. Nothing daunted, a new band of Carmelites opened up a mission in 1687. Writing from Paris, on the 8th of July, 1701, Father Theodore sends the following account to the Father General:

"The English mission was founded about the year 1687, when King James II was on the throne. Father Mark, the Provincial of Tourraine, sent, by order of the General, three religious of his Province to London, Fathers Germain, James, and Henry. The latter apostatised two years after his arrival, and he is at the moment a minister in the country. The second returned to France at the time of the arrival of the Duke of Orange in England, and thus Father Germain alone remains in that country. Four or five years after the revolution Father James Mandin was sent from our Province as a companion for Father Germain. I do not speak, your reverence, of a certain English Father Dubois, educated in the French Province, because he, having come to London almost at the same time as

Father Germain without any orders from the General, behaved himself very badly there and apostatised about two or three years ago. He is now a minister in the city of London. Almost at the same time that Father James Mandin arrived in London Father Vanderstin came there with the Comte d'Aversberg, envoy of the Emperor, as his chief chaplain; this Father brought there a short while after Father Vanderberg, an Irishman, educated in the Province of Flanders. In the year 1699 I brought to London on behalf of the Very Rev. Father Villalobos a letter-patent from the commissary-general to Father Germain, and I took away with me Father Jackson (?), an Irishman who had become affiliated to our Province. Seven or eight months after my arrival Fathers Germain and James Mandin, having been arrested and imprisoned on account of a conspiracy, they were obliged to depart from the kingdom of England. I suffered the same fate because the My Lord at whose house I was staying, having been committed to the Tower, they were trying to convict him of a capital crime because he had kept me in his house. There remain in England now only Fathers Vanderstin, Vanderberg, and James (Mandin?). A year after our departure the Rev. Germain returned with Father James Mandin, Father Thomas Fitzmorris and Father James Fitzmorris, both Irish, and educated in our Province. Shortly after, Father Etienne, an Englishman, educated in our Province, followed them. Certain disputes having arisen between Father Germain and the Irish, the Father General gave me a commission to bring them together. It was about the 20th of May when I arrived in London. I waited a long time for my associate, who was in Holland on affairs of the Comte d'Aversberg, but at last, just about the time he was due here, he died suddenly in Holland. His unexpected death prevented me from taking any

legal steps, all the more so as the persecution against Catholics, and especially against those under the care of our missioners, was unabated. Father James Fitzmorris was in Ireland at the home of his parents, and the others who did not come under the protection of the ambassadors, because they were subjects of the kingdom, were obliged to remain in hiding. However, I have begged them remember their obligation to forget the past and to come together in unity. After several pressing interviews they seemed to me disposed to come together and to work for the common good. Nevertheless, as there is reason to fear that this union will not be well founded and permanent, I consider myself obliged to make known to the Father General the mutual accusations which they have formulated one against the other:

"1. Father Germain suspects that the Irish were the cause of his being hunted from the house of the French ambassador, and says he has sufficient proof of this; that Fathers Jackson and Thomas Fitzmorris have spoken ill of him; that they are disobedient.

"2. The Irish Fathers, on the contrary, accuse Father Germain of having defamed them in England and France; that he is unworthy to be superior of the mission. . . . . They add that he is mistrusted by the present Government of England, &c."

The writer then proceeds to give a character sketch of these missioners, speaking well and kindly of each. After which he continues:

"I do not mention to your reverence the two young English priests, of whom, one is in Flanders and the other, I am told, in the Province of Toulon. I do not mention the two other Irish priests either, who remained in Ireland after the persecution in this kingdom, nor many others of the same nation who are dispersed throughout the several provinces of France. I think

I should only speak of those who have entered the English mission.

" If your reverence desires that I should propose the remedies which I believe to be the best in the cause of peace, and for the spread of the English mission, I suggest that it would be well to separate the English mission from the Irish, since there are sufficient priests of that nation to form a Province in that kingdom. All the other English missions are separated from the Irish missions. I think that an Irish Commissary would be more in keeping with their genius than one of another country, with the restriction, however, that when I speak of a Commissariat I also mean that the Irish who stay in England will owe obedience to the English Commissariat or superior. As to who should hold that office in England I do not know of any Father who better deserves it than Father Germain, and that for many reasons, especially as he is the Order's visitor for the mission. However, it is absolutely necessary to make certain laws or rules as well for the common good as for the mission. One has only to examine the conduct of the English Benedictine Fathers, the Jesuits, or the Discalced Carmelites, to form statutes capable of improving our mission. The mission is at present very poor. The missioners can scarcely live, although they work very hard."

Father Germain was, as a matter of fact, appointed to rule the mission, and, writing shortly after to the General, he repeats the statement of the Visitor, Father Theodore, about its extreme poverty, since the Fathers had to depend solely on casual alms. From other original documents preserved in the archives of the Order at St. Albert's College, Rome, it is evident, however, that all hope of saving the English Province was not abandoned for many long years. Thus, a congratulatory letter to the Father General, Angelus de

Cambolas, dated from London the 19th of June, 1709, bears the joint signatures of the community of seven friars. Again, the 10th of February, 1731, Father Alexius, Commissary General, wrote to the General, James Albert Cavina, asking permission to go to Rome for the General Chapter about to be held, in order to represent the English and Scotch Provinces. Lastly, there is a communication dated 1737. After this date we find no further mention of the mission, which, we conclude, must have ceased to exist shortly after. No further attempt seems to have been made by the Calced Carmelites to re-establish the Order in England.

Let the traveller who to-day visits Great Britain, and views the glorious mediæval cathedrals and churches and monastic buildings, remember that they were originally designed by the skill and executed by the generous labour of the Catholic monks and friars to enshrine the Blessed Sacrament, the True Presence of the Saviour. When they read or speak of Abbeys, such as magnificent Westminster, now defaced by secular monuments, or ruined Hulne, lonely and deserted, let their minds travel back to the days when the pillared aisles re-echoed the psalms of David recited by Benedictine monks, or by friars robed in the White Mantle of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the Black of St. Dominic, or the Grey of St. Francis; when the people owed temporal obedience to Catholic Sovereigns and, undivided in Faith, looked across the world to Rome for guidance in the things of God; when the foundations of most things that have made England great were laid under the aegis of the Catholic Church. If, then, they be Protestants, let them look Truth in the face, asking themselves which was, and is, the more noble, the more pure, which most surely the repository of the spiritual treasures of the Almighty, the Church whose Founder was Jesus Christ and whose children

bartered all for Faith, or that which had its origin in Henry VIII.

We are prompted by no vainglorious and didactic spirit in writing thus. The painful story of the Reformation period offers lessons to both Catholic and Protestant alike. On the other hand, it is impossible to write with honest conviction without taking sides, and, unfortunately, without seeming to be desirous of giving pain. The Reformation and its misfortunes are past. The future is in the hands of God. Generous friendships and kindly intercourse have taught us that, whatever the origin of Protestantism, it has many honest, learned, and convinced adherents to-day. A sincere wish for what seems to us the best may not be taken amiss. Indeed the spirit of Charity is the panacea the wounded and suffering world needs so badly.

Should the pilgrims be Catholics, let the permanence of the work of the monks and friars, to be seen in the abbeys that were not deliberately razed to the ground and in the ruins that are beautiful in their forced decay, be to them an augury of a happy future, and, on the pavements where these holy men once treaded, let them, forgetful of the subsequent desecrations, kneel and pray to God that He may be merciful to the great country that was once known as " Mary's Dowry," and that He may give back to her children the spiritual heritage that was forced from them by cruellest torture. And as they stand before the ruined shrines, though tears blind their eyes for the days that are past, let them yet rejoice that holy lives were spent there in the service of the one True God, and that many who suffered there are now happy in Heaven, praying before the great White Throne for the conversion of Protestant England, some being known to us as martyrs, some as confessors, some, such as the great

Carmelite, St. Simon Stock, for special favours bestowed on them there by emissaries from Heaven.

"Albion! o'er thee profusely Nature showers
Her gifts; with liveliest verdure decks thy soil,
With every mingled charm of hill and dale,
Mountain and mead, hoar cliff, and forest wide;
And thine the *Ruins*, where rapt genius broods
In pensive haunts romantic: rifted *Towers*,
That, beetling o'er the rock, rear the grey crest,
Embattled; and within the secret glade
Conceal'd, the *Abbey's* ivy-mantled pile."

PART III

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

CHAPTER XVII

THE CARMELITES IN IRELAND
(Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries)

"Years roll on years; to ages, ages yield;
Abbots to abbots, in a line succeed:
Religion's charter their protecting shield,
Till royal sacrilege their doom decreed."

At the General Chapter held at Narbonne in the Pentecostes of 1303, the General, Gerard of Bologne, proposed to separate the Irish Carmelites from the English Province by raising Ireland to the status of a new and independent Province. The proposal met with the most determined opposition from many prominent English Carmelites, amongst them being the Provincial, William Ludlington, Godfrey Cornbery, and Thomas Yella. Ludlington was so opposed to the proposed change that he wrote a work, *Against the Decree of the General Chapter of Narbonne*, which brought him into open conflict with the higher superiors. A great split occurred in the Order in consequence of this action, to amend which the General sent two visitors to England, William of Newnham and William Paganerus. Their mission only resulted in greater confusion, so the case was referred to Pope Benedict XI, who gave plenipotentiary powers to Cardinal Gentilis to bring about a settlement. The

matter was again brought up for discussion at a Chapter held in London in 1305, the result being that Ludlington was compelled to resign his office and go to Paris " to fast and read divinity," whilst his supporters were dispersed. In 1307 the General himself came to England and succeeded in establishing peace. It was probably on this occasion that the separation was finally effected, so that from this date the Irish Province began its independent career.

There is nothing certain as to the exact date at which the first Carmelites came to Ireland. It is possible that some arrived there at the time of their first coming to England in 1212, and we find the foundation of one or two of the " desert cells," that on Clare Island, for instance, assigned to the year 1224. On the other hand, the first definite knowledge we have is in regard to the DUBLIN house, and we are satisfied that this was the first true foundation. Certainly the chief activity in this direction was in the first years of the reign of Edward I, on his return from Palestine, where he had been crusading with St. Louis, King of France. Edward was crowned in 1272, and, on the 9th of September, 1274, he issued an order for the " simple protection " of the Carmelite Friars in Ireland for five years. In this same year the most notable of the new foundations was opened in the capital city. On the 13th of November, 1279, the king issued a writ to Robert de Ufford, chief Justiciary of Ireland, commanding him to inquire by the oaths of knights, freemen, and burgesses of the city of Dublin, whether it would be to the loss of the king or the damage of that city that the king should grant licence to the Carmelite Friars to dwell on a piece of ground charitably given to them by Roger Oweyn, of Dublin; Sir James de Bermingham, knight; and Nicholas Bacuir, to found a church there and dedicate it to God. The Justiciary was ordered to return the inquisition

under his seal and the seal of those by whom it should be made, together with the writ.[1]

The inquisition was accordingly taken at Dublin between the friars and the citizens before Sir Robert de Ufford "on the Wednesday next after the Conversion of St. Paul, a.r. 8 (31st January, 1280), before the following jurors (whose names follow), Who say that before the gift of 3 messuages in Dublin, made to the Carmelites by Roger Oweyn, James de Bermingham, and Nicholas Bacum, each of the three houses was wont to yield to the citizens, who held the vile of the king in fee farm, 3¾*d.* a year of the landgable, and to the heirs of Cecelia, daughter of Sir Robert de la Hyde, 5*s.* a year, and the occupiers were wont to answer to the citizens for tallage, watch, pleas, and profits. Wherefore they say that if a church and sanctuary be founded the bailiffs of the city cannot distrain the premises as they used to do, and this would tend to the loss and inconvenience of the city to the amount of 6*d.* a year; and that if a church and sanctuary be there founded they will conduce to the profit of souls, both of the neighbouring inhabitants of the vill, and of strangers, and chiefly of those going to the Exchequer of Dublin, who can there conveniently hear divine service. And they Say that in the place where the Friars dwell courtesans lived before the arrival of the Friars, and evil doers were there harboured."

The case for the Carmelites was supported by letters from Roger Oweyn to the king, and from Stephen, Bishop of Waterford, stating that Roger had bound himself to satisfy the losses of those injured by the friars taking up their dwelling in the city. So, on the 10th of June, 1280, the king granted licence to the Carmelites to enclose and inhabit the three messuages,

[1] Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, No. 1609.

to found their church there, and to hold the enclosure to them and their successors for ever.

But the citizens obstinately opposed the advent of the friars, pointing out that many inconveniences would accrue from allowing their petition. The true reason was, however, the fact that the new community was English, and English ecclesiastics were most unwelcome. The Carmelites being thus foiled, applied themselves, with more success, to Sir Robert Bagot, knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who built a monastery for them in the parish of St. Peter, in the south suburbs of the city, on a lot of ground which he purchased from the abbey of Baltinglass, in the county of Wicklow.

They soon found it necessary to acquire more ground for extensions. On the 22nd of September, 1297, Edward issued a writ to the effect that they had acquired certain lands for the enlargement of their premises contrary to the statute of mortmain, and entered thereon without licence. The lands had, consequently been taken into the king's hands, but were now ordered to be restored.

In these days "chantries" were common. They were shrines or small chapels which were endowed by the opulent with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, whose duty it was to sing (chant) or say Mass daily for the benefit of the soul of the founder or of those named by him. They were often attached to or formed part of the parish churches, but were more frequently connected with the monasteries or priories. They generally contained the tomb of the founder, and were thus in reality mortuary chapels or monuments. On the 16th of May, 1316, the chantry of the Exchequer of Dublin was granted to the Carmelites.

We must pause for a moment to glance at a few

historical facts on which we must touch from time to time.

Amongst the many names by which Ireland was designated in her early history perhaps the least familiar is " Scotia," or the country of the Scots. In the sixth century the name was transferred to Caledonia when the latter country was peopled by a Scottish colony from Ireland. But as late as the end of the eleventh century Ireland was often called " Scotia Major."

In 1154 Henry II, the murderer of Thomas à Becket, came over to Ireland " to check the torrent of wickedness " that hurt his sensitive soul, and to " reform the evil manners, to sow the seeds of virtue "—a truly English reformer. Eventually Dublin became the cuckoo nest of Anglicanism in Ireland, the brood spreading to the neighbouring country. But the invaders were not left in undisturbed possession, and many a time were they compelled to defend their ill-acquired territory.

As might be expected, the clergy, hierarchy, and friars of the province of the Pale were almost exclusively English, and, imbued with the overbearing spirit of the " master," they mostly contemned the native Irish, and their dislike extended to the clergy and religious of the race they would make subject.

The consequences of these few facts are written large on the Irish history of the subsequent centuries. Discord amongst the native chiefs and the hopelessness of getting justice from the English king or his representatives compelled the people to seek redress elsewhere, so they invited Edward Bruce, brother of the king of Scotland, to come to their aid. In 1315 he landed at Carrickfergus at the head of 6,000 men, to establish his claim against the Anglo-Irish to the crown of Ireland. Aided by Donald O'Neil, his success was great, so that in 1316 the English power was broken and he was crowned King. But Edward II,

mustering all his forces, and aided by the dreadful famine that fell on Ireland in the year 1317, soon won back all he had lost, and the Irish king was slain in the disastrous battle of the Hill of Faughard on the 14th of October, 1318. But a greater menace faced England in her Anglo-Norman colony, for the descendants of the early settlers were becoming thoroughly Hibernicised. Amongst other means adopted to meet this danger was to fill the Irish sees with English bishops, and to keep the Irish themselves out of all ecclesiastical benefices. One of the most enthusiastic tools of the foreigner was Alexander Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin. In 1318 he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, and henceforth a great part of his time was occupied in diplomatic missions on behalf of his royal master, who, however, was pleased to accuse him of the surrender of La Roselle, and even of dishonesty in his office of Treasurer. Finally, he asked the Pope to remove the prelate from his kingdom. After the signal success of Edward Bruce, Bicknor excommunicated all who adhered to the national cause. He also showed great bitterness towards the mendicant orders, especially where the communities were Irish, and backed up in every way the legislation against them. This attitude was the cause of much scandal. As Father Malone writes:[1] "They (the mendicants) had, indeed, rendered invaluable services to the church. They supplied a great, if not the greatest number of our sees, with bishops, during this and the next century. Animated by the spirit of their founder, like most orders in their infancy, they laboured with zeal and success, and passed through life wtihout reproach. However, it would appear that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, some of them threw

[1] *A Church History of Ireland* (1863).

aside the religious habit to the great scandal of the faithful.[1] Orders were sent to the Justiciary to have them apprehended and restrained to strict discipline. Besides, it is not improbable, that at this time the Primate and the Friars entertained opposite views on the rights of sepulture and the perquisites from it. That spirit of disinterestedness, which characterised the orders originally, was subsequently weakened. However, the apologists of the Friars say, that they incurred the resentment of the Primate by defending some church furniture, which he coveted and sought to take from them. Irritated at their opposition he denied their privileges and exemptions. For doing so he thought the present a favourable opportunity; because a cry was raised against them in England." [2] In fact, the chief reasons for the opposition were that they adhered to the cause of the people against English oppression, that they deprecated the too great wealth of the beneficed clergy, that they served so well that the people crowded to their churches, leaving the others almost empty. Even the Pope was induced by misrepresentations to issue a Bull, dated the 10th of April, 1317, against the mendicant friars.

In pursuance of this anti-Irish policy, Edward II insisted that Englishmen should be professed in Irish as well as English monasteries, and the native religious were often forced to receive unworthy English subjects into their communities. The Irish retaliated by requiring from postulants an oath that they were not English, and in this action they had the support of the people, who were maddened by such unwonted interference in religious matters.

One natural consequence of the continuous civil and ecclesiastical strife was that there were many hindrances

[1] We have found mention of such in England, but not in Ireland.
[2] *Cf.* Part II of this work.

to the advancement of learning. One of the few acts for which the people were indebted to Archbishop Bicknor was his attempt, with the encouragement of the Holy See, to found a university in Dublin. The Pope, however, required that the consent and co-operation of the suffragan bishops should be obtained. But the Archbishop of Dublin was not on friendly terms with his suffragans, and he did not seek their help. The university had, in consequence, a very brief and very sickly existence. In 1320 he again sought the encouragement and sanction of the Holy See, which was readily given by John XXII. He proceeded to draw up a code of laws. The university, however, after struggling on for some thirty years, failed in its mission because it did not receive the support of the clergy or populace. It was a university in name only. The difficulty in the way of higher education was baneful. The ecclesiastical standard of education was much lower than that in England, and the Irish Province of Carmelites, like those of the other orders, failed to produce anything like the same proportion of great scholars as in the sister isle. On the 3rd of September, 1348, an urgent petition was laid before the king on behalf of the Provincial and Carmelite Friars in Ireland.[1] Therein it is stated that " whereas because there is no university of scholars or arts or study of theology in that land, they find six of their order to study in England in order that these when learned in the Holy Scripture may teach the people in Ireland, for the spread of the Christian Faith and the reformation of morals there, and may celebrate masses and other divine offices for ever for the good estate of the king and John de Grauntsete, for their souls when they are dead and for all the souls of the king's pro-

[1] Patent Rolls, Westminster, memb. i.

genitors and heirs, as well as for all those, living or dead, to whom the said John is bound. And for the exhibition and sustenance of these students they have to pay to the prior provincial of the order in England 12 marks yearly, without which the six friars will have to return from their studies. And they on account of frequent wars and other adversities are now in so depressed a state that they cannot continue the payment." They, therefore, ask that the king "will grant licence for the said John, who in his fervent charity proposes to relieve them of the burden, to charge a tenement of his in Dublin, held of the king in burgage and which could not come to the king or his heirs by reason of custody, with 12 marks of rent to be paid to the prior and convent of the Order in Dublin yearly for ever, towards the exhibition and sustenance of the six students." The petition was granted.

In spite, however, of the many disabilities under which the Irish Church groaned she produced many who advanced the cause of learning, one of the most eminent being Gilbert of Louth.

Gilbert Urgale, better known to history as Gilbert of Louth, Carmelite, was born in Ergal, then comprising the present counties of Louth and Monaghan, and became a Doctor of Theology of Oxford, where he also occupied the chair in divinity. About the year 1330 he wrote two masterly volumes to "which law and divinity owed an admirable development."[1] These were a *Summary of Law* and *Theological Subjects.*

Like his father, Edward III was prepared to go to any lengths to bring the Irish to a servile submission, but fearing the determined and powerful opposition of the Earl of Desmond, he turned his attention to the

[1] *Cf.* Ware's *Writers;* also *John Major.*

Church rather than to the State. Under English rule the resentment to the papal procedure in the appointment of bishops known as " Provision " was universal, but the law was enforced more strictly in Ireland than elsewhere. The Canon Law decreed that the Pope might " provide " a candidate to a see, even before any election took place. The king claimed the right of veto over such appointments, and forbade any person to take a benefice on the strength of the Pope's provision. We have an instance of the application of the law in the case of a Carmelite.

Ralph Kelly was born at Drogheda and educated in the Carmelite Abbey of Kildare, where he eventually took the habit of the Order. In the General Chapter of 1327 he was elected Procurator General, and again in the Chapters of 1330, 1339, and 1342. On the death of Miler le Poer, Bishop of Leighlin, Ralph was provided to that see by Clement VI on the 6th of February, 1344, and was duly consecrated by John, Bishop of Porto. On the 9th of January, 1346, he was translated to the archbishopric of Cashel. A mandate was issued on the 9th of March to Ralph de Ufford, Justiciary of Ireland, " to demand delivery in due form to Ralph Kelly, a Carmelite Friar, of the temporalities of Cashel." The membrane continues :[1] " The said Ralph has been provided by the pope to that cathedral church in the place of John, the late archbishop of that place, as by a bull of the said pope appears, and has renounced all words in such bull prejudicial to the king's grace herein; wherefore the king has taken the fealty of the said Ralph and restored the temporalities to him of grace and not by virtue of the said letters." As a matter of fact, there was nothing to Edward's prejudice in the bull of appointment. This was the legal formula

[1] Patent Rolls (21 Edw. III), Westm., memb. 27.

by which the Pope's right was denied. The mandate was followed by another to the Chancellor of Ireland commanding him to issue writs *de intendendo* under the great seal of Ireland to the king's ministers and others in favour of the archbishop. In a Parliament held at Kilkenny in the year of his translation a crushing tax was imposed on the Church to defray the expenses of the king in prosecuting the war against the French. All present agreed servilely to the levying of this impost of the foreigner, with the solitary exception of Archbishop Kelly. He pleaded the greater charter granted to the Irish Church, and not only refused any aid, but forbade its payment within his province, and excommunicated all who either paid or received it. The Archbishop forthwith convened an assembly of his suffragans, the bishops of Limerick, Emly, and Lismore, to deliberate as to what steps should be taken to oppose the oppressive measure of the king. It was decreed that the beneficed clergymen contributing to the subsidy should be by the very fact deprived of their benefices and rendered incapable of obtaining any further promotion within the province, and that the laity, who were their tenants, who contributed should be by the very fact excommunicated, whilst their descendants to the third generation should be incapable of holding ecclesiastical benefices. The archbishop and the other prelates openly excommunicated at Clonmel all who fell under the censure, naming in a special manner the king's commissioner, William Epworth. They were prosecuted for this offence against the king's interest, found guilty, and punished, the archbishop being ordered to pay a fine of £1,000. "This Kelly," writes Ware, "took much pains in settling the Peace and Revenues of his Church. He died at Cashel (according to the Annals of Nenagh) in 1361, on the Feast of St. Edmund, the King and Martyr, that is,

the 20th of November; and was buried there in St. Patrick's Church. He wrote one book of the Canon Law, and one book, or (as some say) seven, of Familiar Letters, and other things, which are not now extant. He is mentioned by Ant. Possevinus in his Apparatus Sacer; but he calls him Radulphus Kullei, and adds by mistake that he was both by name and birth an Englishman."

An instance of the hostile feeling that sometimes existed between the Irish and English ecclesiastics of which we have spoken is to be found in the life of the archbishop. In 1353 a great dispute arose between Roger Cradock, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Archbishop Kelly because two Irishmen of the Clankellans were convicted of heresy by the bishop at the Castle of Bunratty, in the diocese of Killaloe, and were burnt alive. This high-handed action was taken by the English prelate without the required permission of the Metropolitan. In consequence the Archbishop, on the Tuesday next after the Feast of St. Francis, a little before midnight, entered into the churchyard near St. Catherine's Gate with a great troop of indignant and armed men, and offered violence to the bishop, wounding him and others of his household. By the advice of Walter Reve, Dean of Waterford, and William Sendal, Mayor of the same city, the people also took possession of the bishop's goods.[1]

In the year 1357 FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh, resumed the attack on the Mendicants, thinking the time opportune as the controversy was then at its height in England. The sole grievance against them was the observance of their rule of mendicity and their crusade against the too great wealth of the beneficed clergy, which was such a cause of scandal. FitzRalph pub-

[1] *Cf.* Ware's *Bishops* and Father Luke Wadding's *Annals*, vol. iv.

lished a *Defensorium Curatorum*, or defence of the secular priests. The propositions advanced therein drew a heated refutation from the attacked. The guardians of the Franciscans and Dominicans cited him before the Pope. The mischievous propositions were nine in number, and were as follows:

1. That our Lord Jesus Christ was very poor in a human state; not that he loved or willed poverty for its own sake.

2. That our Lord Jesus Christ never begged.

3. That he never taught men to beg.

4. That our Lord taught men not to beg.

5. That no person can with prudence or holiness oblige himself to perpetual begging.

6. That the friars minors by their vows are not obliged to beg.

7. That the bull of Alexander IV, which condemns the book of the masters, does not invalidate any of the aforesaid conclusions.

8. That for persons making confessions, their own church was preferable to the oratories of the friars, without, however, excluding them.

9. That for making confession, it is better to go to the priest than to the friar.

In 1358 the Pope condemned these propositions, making special mention of FitzRalph as one of the authors of them. But this decision did not end the controversy. The archbishop died in December, 1360, and Richard Kilminton, the other principal antagonist of the mendicants of these days, died in England in the same year. With their demise much of the venom was spent. Yet, so true is it that the good, but more especially the evil, that men do lives after them, that the beneficed clergy kept the flame of antagonism alive till 1401, when a Bull directed by Pope Boniface IX

to the Bishops of Kildare, Cashel, and Dublin, set the question at rest for ever.

It is interesting, and mere justice, for us to recall that, in the year 1342, FitzRalph preached before the Pontifical Court at Avignon in defence of the antiquity of the Carmelite Order. Having paid a very high tribute to the Carmelites, he explained that he was brought to this conviction by the authority of historians worthy of credence, and quoted one work especially, *On the Institution of the First Monks*,[1] written, as we maintain, in the year 412, by the Patriarch John of Jerusalem. Indeed, he would seem to have always shown a tender regard for the Carmelites, in spite of his bitterness towards the Franciscans and the Dominicans, so that the Rev. Vacandard thought, wrongly, of course, that he himself was a member of the Order.

We return to the consideration of the first Carmelite foundation.

In 1320 John Sugdaeus, Provincial of the Order in Ireland, held a Chapter in the Dublin monastery, as did David O'Bugey a short time after.

In 1333 the Irish Parliament met in the great hall of the monastery on the 11th of June. On the occasion of an adjournment, as the members were leaving the court-yard, one of the nobles was slain within the precincts. We find the following account of the incident in the State Papers :[2]

" Again many nobles with the Earl of Ormonde and their followers, were gathered together at the Convent of the Carmelites in Dublin on the 11th of June. During the sitting of the said Parliament, in leaving the precincts of the said friars they were crowded in upon by the people, and Murcadus or Maurice, the

[1] *Cf.* Ch. II of this work.
[2] *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland.*

son of Nicholas Otothill,[1] was killed. Startled by his sudden death the aforesaid nobles, fearing and in expectation of a like fate, were seized with a great fear. But the slayer of the said Murcadus escaped in spite of all their efforts to capture him, so that his name and identity remained entirely unknown to them."

There was at this time little or no popular representation. The attendance at Parliament was confined to the nobles. These English colonists were continually at war with each other or with some native chieftain, so that many of them dared not leave their strongholds to undertake the journey to the capital, and those who did were so bitterly opposed to each other that their retainers not infrequently stabbed each other in the very doors of the assembly.

We find a few more notices of this house.

1335. Edward III granted, on the 10th of June, a yearly pension of 100*s*. for the support of the chantry in the Treasury of Dublin, which was attached to the White Friars.

1351. Robert Serle resided here as Provincial.

1381. John Beck, citizen of Dublin, bequeathed to the friars three pounds in money and twenty-one pounds of wax.

1394. Richard II granted to the prior a second pension of 100*s*. for the better support of the chantry.

1400. Henry IV confirmed the aforesaid grants on August 2nd, and ordered an additional grant of 100*s*.

1464. Redmund was prior.

1467. An act was passed declaring void all grants, etc., made by Edward IV or Henry VI, but it was not to be prejudicial to the brethren of this house in respect

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[1] *Cf.* Carew Manuscripts, *The Book of Howth*, p. 160. He is here called Morish FitzNicholas O'Tole, and his death is said to have occurred by chance.

of the above grants made to them and their successors out of the customs and cocket of the city of Dublin.

About the same time as the Dublin foundation, abbeys [1] were opened up at Leighlin-Bridge, Ardee, and Clara.

Towards the close of the reign of Henry III the abbey of LEIGHLIN-BRIDGE was founded by one of the Carew family, and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. It stood on the eastern bank of the River Barrow near the Black Castle, a fortress that served as one of the earliest defences of the English in Ireland. Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV were amongst its most munificent benefactors. On the 23rd of September, 1303, licence was granted by the king to John Cheffyn for the alienation in mortmain to the prior and Carmelite Friars of "Leoghelyn" of a moiety of an acre of land adjoining their area. The nine-arched bridge, from which the place derives its name, was built in 1320 by Maurice Jakes, a canon of Kildare, to facilitate the intercourse between the religious houses of Old and New Leighlin. Its situation, six miles from Carlow and forty-five from Dublin, on the old mail-coach road to Cork, rendered it of great strategic importance, so that, as the English settlement became more insecure, the abbey was much exposed to the hostile attacks of the native Irish and suffered greatly in consequence. The English felt it incumbent on them to make good this loss. In 1371 Edward III granted the friars ten marks annually for the repair and rebuilding of their house, and Richard II granted them an annual pension out of the rents of Newcastle-on-Lyons of eighty marks "in consideration of the great labour, burden, and expense, which they did sustain in supporting their house and the bridge con-

[1] Most of the Irish convents were known as "abbeys."

tiguous thereunto against the king's enemies." These grants were confirmed in 1394, and were ratified by Henry V.

The abbey of ARDEE (De Atrio Dei), in the county of Louth, was founded by Ralph Pippard, somewhere in the early part of the reign of Edward I. On the 22nd of July, 1303, the king issued a writ to John Wogan,[1] Justiciary of Ireland, directing him to inquire if it would be to the damage of the king or anyone if the community of "Atherdee" should give to the prior and friars of the Order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel of Atherdee one acre of land in that town; and if John Luteby should give them three parts of an acre in the same adjoining their precinct, for the enlargement of their premises. John Luteby is referred to as a "confrater" of the friars, is professed in the Order, and "had not, nor has, lands or tenements or goods beyond the gift." This is of great importance as showing the very early date at which the Carmelite Confraternity was established in Ireland. The reply of the Justiciary was favourable to the friars. Therein he continues: "And hereupon comes a certain Walramus Boy, to whom 16*d.* of rent arising from such tenements was due, and made his letters patent to the said brothers: Walramus Boy to all men: he has released and quit-claimed to the friars of the house of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, of Atherde, a rent of 16*d.* per annum due to him from land which adjoins the precinct of the said brothers, and which the brothers have lately acquired. . . . . And also hereupon comes Benedict de Hauberge and makes his letters patent: He has granted that Adam Belegeaumbe and his heirs may distrain in grantor's tenements of Atherde, as often as any of the rent of

[1] Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, memb. 15.

4*d*. a year which is due to him for land adjoining the precinct of the said brothers, which they have lately acquired, until Adam and his heirs have been fully satisfied of the arears of rent." During the invasion of Edward Bruce, the surrounding country having been laid waste, many of the inhabitants assembled for protection in the friary, which was attacked by a party of Scots and Irish under his command, and was reduced to ashes. In that same year of 1315 a Provincial Chapter was held here, and as others were held in the years 1320 and 1325 the abbey must have been rebuilt shortly after its destruction. The last of these was conducted by John Bloxham, Doctor of Divinity of Oxford, and Vicar General for Ireland. He introduced certain new legislation for the restoration of discipline, which he afterwards embodied in a work entitled *The Statutes of the Chapter of Ardee*. Provincial Synods were also convened in this house, the last being in 1504. At that assembled on the 6th of July, 1489, which was transferred there from Drogheda because of the prevalence of the pestilence in the latter place, Octavian D. Palatio presided, and a great dispute arose between two claimants of the bishopric of Kilmore. At length the matter was left by common consent to the arbitration of the Bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Ardagh. Whatever was the result of their deliberations is not known, but it appears from the Register of Octavian that both of them were for the next six years called bishops of Kilmore, and were present at the Provincial Synod held in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda.[1] The pestilence having followed them to Ardee, the Synod suddenly dissolved.

From their coming to Ireland to the Reformation the Carmelites had a certain number of small hermitages

[1] Ware's *Bishops*.

in silvis (in solitary places), where a very severe penitential life was led. One of these was at CLARA (Clare Island), near the town of Morisk, at the entrance of Clew Bay. This " cell " was founded by one of the O'Malley sept, to whom the island belonged, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin. The date usually given is 1224. As we have said, it is possible that there were Carmelites in Ireland at that date, but there is nothing known of their coming. These hermitages were usually dependent upon some larger house, and Clara was afterwards annexed to the Abbey of Knockmoy in the county of Galway. Grace O'Malley, better known in Irish history as Gran Uile or Granu-Weal, whose extraordinary exploits in the sixteenth century are among the most popular of our traditions, made the island her stronghold, built a castle thereon, and had all her large vessels moored in the bay.

In the year 1290 William de Vesey erected an abbey for the Carmelites at KILDARE. It became a general seminary for the Order in Ireland, and amongst its professors was the famous David O'Buge (or O'Bugey), probably of the De Burgo family. This learned Carmelite, Prior of Kildare, Master and Professor of Theology, distinguished himself first in the halls of Oxford University and, later, at Treves in Germany. He was involved in the dispute over the severance of Ireland from the English Province, being chosen leader of the opposition. " Giraldus Bononiensis (the Father General)," writes Hollinshed, " understanding that, he being an Irishman was so hot in the controversie, was egerly bent against Obuge, because he assured himself to have favour at his hands, by reason Obuge was born in that countrie where the Giraldines, his kinsmen, were planted, and thereupon he was banished Italy. This storme in processe of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall guardian of all

his fraternitie in Ireland; which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching, was greatlie edified. Over this he was so politike a councillor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of weight would have recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotle, in eloquence a Tullie, in divinitie an Augustine, in civill law a Justinian, in the canon a Panormitane, he flourished in the yere 1320, he deceased at Kildare, leaving there learned workes insuing to posteritie." When he was elected Provincial in 1320 he held Chapters at Ardee and Dublin. He became known throughout the length and breadth of Ireland as a living encyclopædia, and, in the annals of the time, he is described as "the burning light, the mirror and ornament of his country." He wrote against Gerard of Bologna. His other literary works were: *Commentaries on the Scriptures, Sermons to the Clergy, Disputed Propositions, Certain Rules of Law, Letters,* and *Lectures delivered at Treves.* He died at an advanced age and was buried in the Carmelite church of Kildare.

During the insurrection of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald in the March of 1535 the Castle of Maynooth was besieged by a considerable force under Sir William Brereton, by whom it was taken through the treachery of that nobleman's foster-brother after a fortnight's gallant defence. According to the Rental Book of the Earls of Kildare, Lord Thomas had previously delivered part of the plate, of which there are three entries, one to a retainer, another to the White Friars of Kildare, and a large quantity to O'Brien of Thomond.

The brilliance of Irish ecclesiastics like David O'Bugey was not in accordance with the English ideal, or the Anglo-Irish assumption of superiority. Men of such learning and influence as he could not be formed into enthusiasts to worship at the shrine of the invader.

Although he was against the separation of the Irish Carmelites from their English brethren, he was none the less an Irishman. He was not the stuff of which slaves are made. Socially and politically they were too independent, and England had no use for independent Irish. The policy of interference in ecclesiastical matters was at this time pursued with even greater rigour than heretofore. Even in these days Irish ecclesiastics had a very great influence with the people, ever a great inconvenience to the invaders. So the king sought to supply the Irish sees with Englishmen, whilst his tools legislated to exclude the Irish from all benefices.

John de Ewasham, or Swasham, was born in Swasham in Norwich, entered the Carmelite convent of Lynn, and became a Doctor of Theology of Cambridge. A man of great piety, learning, and of an extraordinary zeal, none laboured more than he to save Christ's flock from the rapacious wolves of the sect of Wicliff, whom he confounded by his writings and eloquence. Being provided by Urban V, in the year 1363, as Bishop of Cloyne, he was consecrated. On the 14th of July of that year a mandate was issued to the king's son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, "Guardian of the land of Ireland," to cause the temporalities of the see to be delivered to Swasham. Those whom the king chose to fill the Irish bishopries were as a rule very clever men who had rendered signal service in England. But they were Englishmen, with an inalterable sense of superiority over the natives, and, for this very reason, were often wanting in the charitable spirit of their high office. They would not accept the poorer sees, which they were willing to leave to the native clergy. To overcome this difficulty in the provision of rewards the monarch besought the Pope to annex the smaller to the principal sees, or else to unite two or more of the smaller bishopries. Having ruled the see

of Cloyne for thirteen years, Swasham made application for the union of Cork and Cloyne, to effect which John XXII issued a Bull. This document, however, being mislaid, perhaps diplomatically, nothing came of the application till 1429, when the union was actually effected. The Bishop was transferred to Bangor in Wales in July, 1376, by a Bull of Gregory XI, and was present at the Synod held at Stamford in 1392, at which the books of Wicliff were condemned. He died, according to Ware, at Bangor about 1397, leaving behind him the following works: *Against the Wicliffites*, *Sermons*, and the *Pipe Roll of the Diocese of Cloyne*, which he had begun.

In 1367 the celebrated Statute of Kilkenny was enacted. It was passed in a Parliament held at Kilkenny before the Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and included thirty-four acts, amongst which were the following:

XIII. Also it is ordained that no Irishman of the nations of the Irish be admitted into any cathedral or collegiate church by provision, collation, or presentation of any person, nor to any benefice of Holy Church, amongst the English of the land; and that if any be admitted, instituted, or inducted into such benefice, it be held for void, and the king shall have the presentation of the said benefice for that avoidance, to whatever person the advowson of such benefice may belong, saving their right to present or make collation to the said benefice when it shall be vacant another time.

XIV. Also it is ordained and established that no religious house which is situate among the English (be it exempt or not), shall henceforth receive any Irishman to their profession, but may receive Englishmen without taking into consideration whether they be born in England or Ireland; and that any that shall act otherwise, and thereof shall be attainted, their tem-

poralities shall be seized into the hands of our lord the king, so to remain at his pleasure; and that no prelate of Holy Church shall receive any . . . . to any orders without the assent and testimony of his lord, given to him under his seal.

This vile attempt to exclude the youth of the country from the priesthood and from the religious institutes, because they were *mere Irish*, will help to explain why so many Englishmen were appointed to the vacant sees, and also the courage that was necessary to keep the religious houses in existence and flourishing.

The fourteenth century saw the foundation of the greatest number of the Irish Carmelite abbeys.

The abbey of THURLES, in the county of Tipperary, was founded by the Butler family in 1300.

The abbey of LOUGHREA, in the barony of Donkillen, county of Galway, was founded in the same year under the invocation of the Virgin Mary by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. The town was remarkable chiefly for this monastery.

That at DROGHEDA was opened up about the same time. This house, which was situated on the Meath-side of the River Boyne, was erected by the inhabitants themselves for the Carmelites in the reign of Edward I. It obtained several privileges from Edward III, and particularly from the Parliament of 1468.

We find the following particulars of this foundation in D'Alton's *History of Drogheda* (vol. i, p. 135):

"It was early subjected by Walter de Lacy to the priory of St. Cienan of Duleek, and is said to have derived a portion of its support from the tolls of butter entering the town at St. John's Gate, the ruin of which is still denominated the Butter Gate. De Lacy afterwards granted this church, with Duleek, in frank-

almoinage, to the house of Lanthony near Gloucester, which latter donation was subsequently confirmed by King John, Edward II, and Edward IV. By inquisition taken in 1307, it appears that the corporation had heretofore granted to this establishment eighty square virgates of land, each virgate containing from twenty to forty acres, as local custom prescribed. In 1310, the Carmelites of this house had a further grant, which is on record in the Tower of London; and in 1345, Richard FitzWilliam, Mayor of Drogheda, had licence to assign four acres of land adjoining the same, for increasing and maintaining lights before the statue of the Blessed Virgin here. In 1376, when King Edward the Third directed the remarkable summons whereby he required representatives of the clergy, counties, and boroughs of Ireland to attend a Parliament to be held at Westminster, the Bishop of Meath sent 'Master Bartholomew Dullard,' rector of this church, as the representative of his lordship and the clergy, to advise the crown on the state of Ireland, but reserving any power of taxing the said diocese. In 1393, King Richard the Second granted the advowson of this church, and of the chapel of St. Nicholas, which was then thereunto annexed, to the prior and convent of Lanthony. There were three other chapelries at this time annexed also to this house, respectively dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, St. Catherine, and St. Patrick, as is proven by a donation of bells to each of them by William Symcock and Agnes his wife, about the year 1412. One of the acts passed in the Parliament of Drogheda in 1468 confirmed a grant of chief rents to this house."

William de Paul, or Pagham, was born in the county of Kent and the Diocese of Canterbury. Ware writes: "Leland calls him William Paganer; and Bale, Pagham, but neither of them rightly; for in the records he is expressly called William de Paul." So brilliant

and so prudent was he that he was the recipient of the highest theological degree of both Oxford and Paris Universities. At Oxford he was guided by the friendship and example of the famed Robert Walsingham, so that he became one of the most learned Carmelites of the day. Leland does not spare his praise: "So great was his ability that you would almost call it divine." In the General Chapter held at Genoa in 1309 he was elected Provincial of England and Scotland because of his "singular piety, gravity, learning, wisdom, and dexterity in the management of affairs." He was provided by John XXII as Bishop of Meath, was consecrated at Avignon, and had his temporalities restored by Edward III on the 16th of February, 1327. Having ruled the see for twenty-two years, he died on the 26th of July, 1349. Thus, says the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, Leland, Bale, Pitseus, are wrong in placing his episcopate in 1280. Amongst several works on philosophy and theology the following are his most important: *On the Master of the Sentences*, four books; *Theological Opinions, Of the Perfection of the Intellect, Of Actual Knowledge, Of Formal Truth, Of the Essence of Reasoning, Everyday Questions*, and *Sermons*.

The abbey of ATHBOY, in the barony of Lune, county of Meath, was erected in honour of Our Lady of Mount Carmel by William de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin. On the 17th of October, 1317, a licence was granted permitting him to make a grant to the Carmelite Friars in Athboy of that lot of ground in the said town whereon the monastery was afterwards erected. It held a high place among the houses of the Order in Ireland. In 1372 the friars were indicted for acquiring from Richard de Maghery two gardens, contrary to the statute of mortmain. In 1467 a Provincial Chapter was held here.

An abbey was founded in 1347 by John Roache at CLONCURRY, a small village situated in the barony of Ikeath and Oughterany, in the county of Kildare. Dr. Comerford writes: "In old records it is often called Cluain-Conaire-Tomain, to distinguish it from another Cloncurry, styled Cluain-Conaire-Maeldubh, near Rathangan, in this county." During a battle between the native Irish and the Anglo-Normans the convent, together with the village, was burnt by some of the Irish septs in 1405. It was afterwards restored by the people themselves, and continued to exist till the suppression.

About the same time as Cloncurry a convent was erected at HOARTOWN, otherwise known as Little Horton, in the barony of Shelmalier, county of Wexford, by the family of the Furlongs, who also richly endowed it.

The convent of KINSALE, in the barony of Kerrycurry and Kinallea, county of Cork, was founded, probably, by Robert FitzRichard Balrayne in 1334. In 1350 Stephen Prene, the prior, obtained a quarter of land in Lischan from the said Robert.

About the year 1353 a convent was founded by the famous O'Gara family at KNOCKMORE, in the barony of Tirerril, county of Sligo. Some authors give this as a Dominican priory, but the majority of writers, as De Burgo admits, supported by the tradition of the countryside, assign it to the Carmelites.

The convent of BALLYNEHINCH, in the county of Galway, was founded in the year 1356 by one O'Flaherty. In the same year the convent of BALLINSMALE, or Ballynamall, Co. Mayo, was founded by the family of Prendergast, and would seem to have attained to a position of some importance.

The convent of CREVAGHBANE, in the county of

Galway, had the Earl of Clanrickarde for its founder, about the middle of the fourteenth century.

The abbey of St. Saviour's, KNOCKTOPHER, in the county of Kilkenny, was founded in 1356 by James, the second Earl of Ormonde. In the Patent Rolls we find that on the 25th of October, 1358, licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain " by the king's kinsman James de Botiller, earl of Ormonde, to the prior provincial and the Carmelite Friars in Ireland of a messuage and thirteen acres of land in ' Knoketogher ' in Ireland, to make a habitation for the friars of that order." Archdall says that about the year 1396, when Henry Brown was prior, it received a grant of two parts of the temporalities of the see of Ossory, at that time placed in the hands of Edward III. This date is evidently incorrect, since Edward III died in 1377. The correct date is probably 1356. In a petition addressed to the Nuncio Runnicini, which we give later, and elsewhere, this house is spoken of as the " Prima Sedes." This cannot mean that it was the first foundation, which it was not, but that it was the head house of the Order in Ireland at that time. That it was of very considerable importance is evident from the extent of its properties. An inquisition was taken " on Tuesday next after the Feast of St. Anne, mother of the Blessed Virgin, 34th King Henry VIII," wherein it is stated that " William, the last prior, was seized of the said friary containing two acres, a church and belfry, a chapel adjacent thereto, a chamber, with two cellars, two castles, a hall called the fraytor, a dormitory, within the precincts, annual value, besides reprises, 3*s.* 4*d.*; also three messuages, seven gardens and one acre of meadow in Knocktopher, annual value, besides reprises, 15*s.*; three acres of meadow in Knocktopher called Mongowallin, annual value, besides reprises, ——; two parks in Knocktopher called the Brocakards,

annual value, besides reprises, 4*d.*; a parcel of land in Knocktopher called the Clonyngs; —— acres of land in Knocktopher called the Gortnetullyesfelde, an acre of meadow near Monecaisslane, seventeen acres of arable, two woods, containing four acres, one park containing half an acre adjoining one of the woods, and seven acres of pasture adjoining the other, called Garranismore, both in Knocktopher; two acres elsewhere, seven acres called Gortloghaninfelde, and four acres, both contained in two parks of arable land, and called the Alleys; four other acres called Marshillisland, and a messuage and thirty-seven acres of arable in Ballywodan; twenty acres of arable in Ballyhode; twenty acres of arable in Gragyne; —— acres of arable in Ballygyrdery, alias Grange Madaniston and Garrane O'Dowgead, and six messuages, four cottages, one hundred acres of arable in Ballygyrdery, twenty acres of moor and underwood, called Monecorogan, and eighty acres of mountain in Knocktopher, Ballywodan, Ballyhode, Gragyne, Ballygyrdery, ————, Ophane, and two messuages, a granary, two gardens, and fifteen acres of arable called Rylesland, in Ophane, all in the county of Kilkenny." [1]

The exact date of foundation of the following convents is not known, but as far as we have been able to trace their origin they would seem to belong to the end of the fourteenth century.

The abbey of ARDNACRANNA, county of Westmeath, was founded for the Carmelites by Robert Dillion,' Lord of Drumrany. Cogan tells us that it " was situated in Dillon's country, now the barony of Kilkenny-west, and had for its patrons the princely house of Drumrany and Dunimoney." [2]

[1] Carew MSS., Archiepiscopal Palace, Lambeth, vol. 602, p. 142, Oct., 1642.
[2] The Diocese of Meath, Rev. A. Cogan.

The abbey of KALTRAH-NE-PALLICE, in the county of Galway, was built by Bermingham, Baron of Athenry. That of BALLYNEGALL, in the barony of Kilmallock, county of Limerick, owes its foundation to the family of Roache; that of MILTOWN, or Ballywullin, county of Limerick, was founded by Nellan O'Molloy; the abbey of CASTLE-LYONS, barony of Barrymore, county of Cork, owes its origin to the Barry family; and the GALWAY convent, to the family of De Burgo.

In the seventh year of the reign of Richard II rumours of the disloyalty of the Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, were common, and repeated attempts had been made to bring about his disgrace. That there was considerable ground for the charge of treason can scarcely be doubted. An Irish Carmelite, Bachelor in Theology, whose name we have been unable to discover, was made the tool of the Duke's enemies, and he suffered dreadfully in consequence. In the Easter of 1384 Parliament was summoned to meet at Salisbury. At one of its sittings the unfortunate friar presented to the king a paper in which he had written down very grave charges against the Duke. Amongst others was that he had conspired to slay the king and seize the crown. The minutest details as to the time, place, and circumstances of the proposed assassination were given. Having gained an audience with the king, he read his statement, swearing by the Holy Sacrifice which he had celebrated that very day that there was not a false word in it. He advised the king not to listen to the Duke's excuses, as he was sure, by subtle arguments, to have judgment deferred, when he would escape to his army and either become a public enemy or effect a reconciliation with the king by wile. The king took counsel as to what was best to do. While the matter was still under consideration the Duke, ignorant of the serious

charge that had been preferred against him, entered the audience chamber. The writing was, by the king's order, handed to him. Having read it, he vehemently denied the charges, and the king professed himself satisfied as to his innocence. Lancaster demanded that the friar should be imprisoned till the charge was investigated, and, as a special favour he begged that the prisoner might be handed over to the custody of Sir John Holland, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter, the king's uterine brother.

On the very night of the day preceding that on which the Carmelite was to have been called to substantiate his charge Sir John and another soldier named Henry Grene, seizing the friar, placed a rope round his neck and the other end about his body (genitalia) and thus suspended him above the ground. Then placing a heavy stone on his body he was suffocated, his spine broken, and he was made to endure another unspeakable and diabolical torture, so that he suffered not one but three frightful torments of which he died. The next day Sir John caused the body of the murdered man to be drawn through the streets as was done to traitors, for thus did they hope to remove the suspicion that he had been unjustly done to death. "And," says Walsingham, "the awful thing is that this was done not by men in the heat of battle, not by thoughtless youths, nor by men of low estate, but by soldiers! Ipsi judices, ipsi ministri, ipsi tortores exstiterunt!" [1]

The dark and mysterious murder did not remove the secret suspicions of Richard. In the Parliament Sir William la Zouche was accused of having invented the charge which the dead friar had been induced to make, for before his death the Carmelite had mentioned him as the true author of the memorial. But he stoutly denied

[1] *Historica Anglicana*, Thomas Walsingham. *Cf.* Lingard, vol. iii, p. 156.

on oath any knowledge of its existence. This lord was henceforth regarded as a bitter enemy, not by the Carmelites alone, but by the members of every Order.

Tradition has it that the wicker hurdle upon which the body of the dead friar was drawn through the streets became alive and green, putting forth leaves and flowers; that a blind man was miraculously cured by touching it.

The friends of Lancaster were determined to hush the matter up. Sir Thomas de Wodestoke, Duke of Gloucester, and a brother of the murderer, rushed into the room where the king was, and swore an awful oath, that he would fight and kill anyone, not excepting the king himself, who should dare accuse his brother of treason. The king, being terrified, feared to utter a word and dissembled. Thus the matter ended.

After the translation of John Swasham to Bangor, another English Carmelite, Richard Wye, succeeded him in the see of Cloyne, the temporalities of which were restored to him on the 9th of November, 1376. Ware says that he was excommunicated for certain misdemeanours, after which he fled to England. In 1394 he was deprived of his see, in spite of which he continued to act as bishop till Richard II, being in Waterford, in 1395, ordered that he should be arrested and handed over to the custody of Peter Hacket, Archbishop of Cashel.

Richard Northall was born near London, his father being Mayor of the city. He joined the Order there, and became famous for his preaching, learning, and many other acquirements, thereby attracting the attention and winning the friendship of Richard II, who advanced him, with the consent of Pope Boniface IX, to the bishopric of Ossory in 1387.[1] About

[1] Ware says wrongly that he was consecrated in 1386.

the year 1390 he was constituted a commissioner to enquire into the state, losses, and abuses, of and in the government of Ireland, and into the corruption and fraud of the officers there, with power to call before him all peers, prelates, and others to give information in the premises; and, in particular, to report how and on what security Nigel O'Neil was set at large, to enquire also into the numbers which Sir John Stanley, Lord Deputy, had kept in his retinue at his arrival in Ireland, whether he had performed the covenants in his indenture of government, and how many men-at-arms and archers he transported with him from England, as also to ascertain the value of the revenues of Ireland while the said justice administered the government there, and how much thereof he applied to his own use. He was, likewise, authorised to supervise and examine into the rolls and records of the exchequer and other courts, as often as he pleased, and to report the behaviour of the officers. And all prelates, peers, and other subjects were commanded to aid and assist him in the execution of this multifarious commission. In 1391 and 1394 he was employed by the king as his ambassador to Pope Boniface IX, and was appointed Chancellor of Ireland in 1393. He ruled the see of Ossory till 1395, in which he was succeeded by Thomas Peverell, another Carmelite, being then translated to the archbishopric of Dublin. He enjoyed this last honour for but a short time, since he died in Dublin on the 20th of July, 1397. He was buried in his own cathedral in that city. While he presided over this province he obtained for himself and his successors the then very important privilege of the admiralty of Dalkey.[1] He wrote: *A Book of Sermons; To the Priests of Parish Churches*, and other works.

[1] *History of the Archbishops of Dublin: County of Dublin.* John D'Alton.

He was succeeded in the see of Dublin by Thomas Cranley, in 1397.

Thomas Cranley, Carmelite, was an Englishman, Doctor of Divinity, Fellow of Merton College, Warden of New College, and for a time Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Writers vary as to the exact date of his consecration, some stating the year 1398, others with more reason 1397. Certain it is that he first arrived in Dublin on the 7th of October, 1398, when he came with Thomas Holland, then Duke of Surrey and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Henry V being engaged in war with France to establish his title to the crown of that country, had little time to give to Irish affairs, so he charged Thomas, Prior of Kilmainham, with its government, till John Stanley arrived as Lord Lieutenant in 1413. When, however, Stanley died at Ardee in the following January the Nobles named Cranley as Justicier in his place. He was well fitted for the responsible office, as he had already been trusted with important diplomatic missions. Thus in 1398 he was given letters of protection on proceeding to foreign parts in the service of the king, and in the following year had power to treat with the Irish. In 1401 he was appointed Lord Chancellor, in which year the clergy and commons of his diocese granted him a subsidy of eighty marks for the use of the State. In 1403 he fell ill and was unable to perform the many duties of his high office, so the king empowered the Master of the Rolls to act as his deputy. So many important responsibilities were heaped upon him that he was unable to overtake all. The king, therefore, authorised the Chief Justice and the second Justice, in 1405, to preside at the assizes in his place. In 1413, the archbishop being Lord Chancellor for a second period, John Bermingham was appointed to relieve him in the same way. The new Lord Justice of Ireland assembled

Parliament at Dublin in the month of February, a month after Stanley's death and his assumption of that office. Shortly afterwards the Irish made incursions into the English Pale. Abbé MacGeoghegan writes:[1]

"Jenico de Artois, desiring to avenge what was regarded as an insult, invaded the territory of Magennis in Ulster, but was signally defeated with great loss at Inor. These successes having raised the courage of the Irish the Lord Justicier was obliged to appear in person. He advanced as far as Castledermot, where he ordered a religious procession and set himself and his clergy to pray for the success of his army which was engaged with the O'Murroghs and the O'Dempseys near Kilkea, the latter losing a hundred men. This loss was compensated, however, by the victory which O'Connor gained over the English of Meath on the 10th of May, when Thomas Maureverar, Baron of Skrine, was killed together with many others. In consequence of these happenings the English saw the necessity of handing over the government of Ireland to a man experienced in the art of war, and John Talbot, Lord Furnival, was nominated Lord Lieutenant in the month of September."

About this time Cranley wrote, says Leland, "a neat epistle to the king, in elegant verse, consisting of 106 lines, which I read with great pleasure, and was at pains of treasuring in my memory."

When the Lord Lieutenant, Furnival, left for England in 1416 he constituted Cranley his deputy, in which office he was so successful that many and honourable references as to his administration are to be found in the chronicles of the times. About the end of April, 1419, he set out for England. He died at Farringdon in Berkshire on the 25th of May, this same

[1] *Histoire de l'Irlande*, vol. ii, p. 170.

year, at the age of eighty years. His body was interred at New College, Oxford, of which he had been the first warden. A splendid monument was erected there to his memory, being "a fair stone, adorned with brass plates, bearing the figure of a bishop clothed in his sacred vestments, over which the armorials of the see of Dublin are placed with his own; beneath is an inscription in barbarous Latin, which Harris has copied, as also another that runs round the side of the stone."

"He was a prelate," writes Leland, "in high reputation for his wit and pen"; while Marleburgh writes: "He was a very bountiful man, and fond of alms deeds, a profound clerk, and doctor of holy divinity, an extraordinarily fine preacher, and a great builder and improver of such places as fell under his care. He was fair, magnificent, of a sanguine complection, and princely stature, so that in his time it might be said of him, 'Thou art fairer of form than the children of men, grace is diffused through thy lips because of thy eloquence.'" And Ware says that these endowments rendered him justly dear to the three successive kings, during whose reign he lived. He died, and was buried at Dublin, according to Bale, Pitts, and others; but they are mistaken.

Thomas Peverell, of whom Ware writes that "he was a man famous in his time, and born of an honourable family in Suffolkshire," became a Doctor of Theology of Oxford, and was, on the 3rd of November, 1395, elected Bishop of Ossory as suffragan to the Archbishop of Dublin. There is extreme confusion in the various authors in regard to the sees he occupied and his dates. Thus some say he became Bishop of Ossory in 1397. However, we believe the above date, given by the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, to be correct. According to the same authority he was translated to the diocese of Leighlin on the 23rd of January, 1398, and was pro-

moted in the same year, probably in May, to Llandaff in Wales, as suffragan to the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the other hand, Bishop Comerford says [1] that he ruled the see of Leighlin from the 23rd of January, 1399, to July of the same year, when he was translated to Llandaff. It is certain that John Griffin resigned the see of Leighlin in 1398 and that Richard Rocomb became bishop there somewhere in 1399. These facts would not belie the statement of the authority we accept. We, therefore, believe Bishop Comerford to have been mistaken. Peverell was next translated from Llandaff to Worcester. Again we follow the *Bibliotheca*, which in this case is supported by the authority of Edwin Burton,[2] in giving the year 1407 for this latest removal. "Having ruled for ten years," continues the *Bibliotheca*, "he died on the 1st of March, 1418, and was buried in his own church." Here again there is a difference of opinion, both as to the date and the place of sepulture. The 23rd of August, 1417, is also given and, whereas Anthony Wood writes that he "was buried in the church here" (meaning Oxford), Mr. Habington "saith from the prior's register of Worcester sede vacante" that his remains were laid to rest in his own last diocesan church. Godwin also agrees in this opinion. Peverell published: *Questions on Divinity*, *Sermons on Solemn Occasions*, the *Order of the Church*, and other works.

Thomas Colby, a Carmelite of Norwich, Doctor of Theology, was a man of genius, and a most elegant preacher, because of which accomplishment he became known to the magnates of the kingdom, won the friendship of princes and the favour of kings, so that he was elevated to the highest dignities. He was appointed, according to some authors, Bishop of Waterford and

[1] Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin (1883).
[2] Worcester, *Catholic Encycl.*

Lismore by Richard II in the year 1399. For some reason he would seem to have occupied the see for only a very short time. From the Records it appears that Thomas Snell was provided by the Pope, and had the temporalities restored to him by Henry IV on the 16th of November, 1399. But quite a different account is given in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*. There it is stated that he was elected Bishop of Elphin, as suffragan to the metropolitan of Tuam, on the 11th of May, 1412, and that within two years he was translated to Lismore and Waterford, on the 9th of February, 1414. The writer adds: "Since these facts are certain, being contained in the register *Of the Provision of Prelates*, under John XXIII, folio 142, the opinion of these authors cannot be upheld who assign the decease of Thomas Colby to the year 1406." He wrote, amongst other works, *A Preceptory of Divine Law, Collections of Sacred Doctrine, on the Lord's Prayer, On the Psalm Miserere, Sacred Sermons, Of the Purity of the Church, Lectures on the Holy Scriptures, Annotations on Genesis, A Collection of Sacred Dogmas.* "All of which," writes Bale, "he finished in 1406, under Henry IV; but of his death and burial I have nothing certain to affirm." He is said to have written some *Historical Collections* also.

Before concluding this chapter we must note that the convent of BURGOFLORE, or Burgakere, although claimed by the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, was certainly at one time in the hands of the Carmelites.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CARMELITES IN IRELAND—*Continued*
(The Fifteenth Century)

" How many a glorious name for us,
How many a story of fame for us
They left : Would it not be a blame for us
If their memories part
From our land and heart,
And a wrong to them, and a shame for us?"

On the death of Alexander Petit, the 10th of November, 1400, Henry IV sought to have his own confessor, the eminent Carmelite, Robert Mascall, elevated to the see of Meath, and granted him the custody of the temporalities. In this effort, however, the king failed signally, for Robert Mortmain was appointed by the Pope.

William Quaplod, an Irishman, according to the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana,* was Master of Sacred Theology, and Regens in the Roman Curia about the year 1381. These titles we know of because of their being found in the Acts of the General Chapter held at Verona in that year. He was chosen as Bishop of Derry, as suffragan to the Archbishop of Armagh, in 1420. Ware writes : " William Quaplod, an English (?) Carmelite, bred at Oxford, the Mecenas of Bertran FitzAllen, a Carmelite likewise, and a learned man as appears in Leland, *De Scriptoribus Brittanicis,* which I rather note to show the error of Bale, who calls him Bishop of Kildare, one of the

suffragans of the Archbishop of Dublin." He wrote: *Commentaries on the Master of the Sentences*, and *Everything*.

Stephen Brown, another English Carmelite, was provided by Pope Boniface IX as Bishop of Ross in 1402, and had his temporalities restored on the 6th of May of that year. He ruled the see till 1412. His privy seal is still extant in the Royal Irish Academy collection.

Again there was Richard Mysyn (Messing or Mespin), who became Bishop of Dromore on the 11th of November, 1408. He died in 1409, and was buried among the Carmelites of York.

David Chirburius, English Carmelite, a notable scholar, was consecrated Bishop of Dromore on the 22nd of June, 1431. Nicholas Kenton dedicated a work to him. He died in 1446, and was buried with the Carmelites of Ludlow.

Whilst the majority of the bishops were saintly men who conscientiously carried out the duties of their high and responsible office, there were some few who, by their marked preference for the Anglo-Irish and their contempt for the people of the soil, helped to make their unhappy lot even less endurable. They were the nominees of the English king, and were expected to repay his favour by playing their part in the scheme of colonisation. Their only claim to episcopal honours lay in the fact that they had attracted the notice of the king and won his royal approbation by their learning or writings, or even that they had served him well as confessors or diplomatists. It was scarcely considered whether they were fit persons to rule a see, since, after all, they were only Irish sees. Some of these carried over with them a worshipful devotion to their master and to his interests, and, though charged with the spiritual care of a Church for which English dominance

was synonymous with unrelenting persecution and cruel suffering, their prelacy was characterised rather by a reverence for English ideals than by the pastoral spirit of the Catholic Church. As a natural consequence they were in constant opposition to the crying needs of their flocks. Only too often they were politicians rather than bishops, and as such they did incalculable harm. Possibly they were the victims of circumstance. Patriotism is sometimes a blinding passion. As Englishmen they did not understand the political and social problems of the Irish, as the English never have. Furthermore, it was impolitic to recognise that there were in fact wrongs to be righted, for " every good man who appeared to sympathise in the wrongs of the nation, or who aimed at conciliation by showing the least kindness to the people, was at once marked out and denounced before the public tribunals as a criminal."

By provision of Pope Alexander V John Geese, an English Carmelite, succeeded to the see of Waterford and Lismore on the 12th of September, 1409. We are provided with an unfortunate illustration of the above conditions in the scandalous accusations which this prelate advanced against the eminent and persecuted Richard O'Hedian, Archbishop of Cashel, his metropolitan.

In spite of the Archbishop's many and great services to the Church, he was cited before a Parliament held in Dublin, to answer the thirty accusations alleged against him by Geese. Here are the principal of these as set out by a contemporary, Henry Marlborough, vicar of Baliscadden, in the diocese of Dublin :

1. That he was kind to the Irish and loved no Englishman.

2. That neither he himself gave, nor suffered any other bishop to give any benefice to an Englishman.

3. That he counterfeited the King of England's seal, and made letters patent.

4. That he made himself King of Munster.

5. That he took the ring from the image of St. Patrick, which was offered by the Earl of Desmond, and gave it to his whore.

" With many other enormities, in writing, which gave great trouble to the Lords and Commons."

Some of the charges were so ludicrously extravagant as to throw discredit on the rest, and make the case of the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore ridiculous. None the less do they evidence the vindictive spirit of the English and Anglo-Irish towards the natives, a spirit that blinded them to the considerations of humanity, of Christian charity, and to the sacred obligations of their pastoral office. For, as it was the first, so it was the leading charge in this scandalous indictment, that the Archbishop of Cashel was kind to the people for whose salvation he was responsible to God. Knowing the danger of having such men as Geese in authority in Ireland O'Hedian, like a good pastor and a good patriot, refused them preferment, and herein we find the key to the situation. The character of such a one must be blackened beyond recall that his removal may be effected. Then another very desirable Irish see would await the elevation of some English ecclesiastic, possibly Geese himself, who would serve his king even to the contempt of the things of God.

" The writers of those times," says Father Brenan,[1] " after describing the sensation which this singular proceeding had occasioned, especially among the peers of the realm, continue to dwell with unfeigned delight on the unbending firmness, integrity, and good qualities of the Archbishop of Cashel, and agree that he was honourably acquitted; while, by those of a modern date, the fact is adduced as one among many instances in which

[1] *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.*

Irishmen have been persecuted, merely because they had manifested a love or regard for their country."

John Geese died on the 22nd of December, 1425, having made himself memorable by little except this unworthy action.

In the year 1417 the Council of Constance met, when by the election of Martin V the Great Schism was practically ended. The Council was later removed to Basle, when the Bishop of Bazil maintained certain unorthodox propositions, amongst others that a General Council was superior to the Pope, and that he was fallible. To this schismatical bishop Norris, Dean of Dublin, adhered. He also wrote in the irresponsible tone of fanaticism against the Mendicants, and in the end brought on himself the censures of the Church. Malone sums up his doctrine under the following headings:

1. "As the walls of Jerusalem," he said, "were destroyed by four armies, so the Church of God shall be destroyed by four mendicant orders."

2. As the chief tax-gatherer came to Jerusalem with fair words under a treacherous heart, so have the four said orders come into the Church with the like treachery, in order to destroy, to the utmost of their power, the Church of God.

3. As the same persons came to Jerusalem with a great crowd, to create disturbance, so there has been a rush of four orders into the Church to disturb it.

4. As the Gabaonites came to Joshua with lies, so have the mendicant orders come into the Church.

5. There were held four councils, and in them many were condemned for divers heresies, but the mendicants were worse than such heretics.

6. The four mendicant orders were thieves, robbers, and robbers of the sanctuary.

7. The brothers of the mendicant orders are of the vilest characters.

8. They are ravening wolves.

9. They are worse than the traitor Judas.

10. They are Antichrists, and directly against Christ.

11. They are disciples of Mohammed.

12. No man or woman of any parish can come to any friar, for the seeking of confession without leave of the parish priest or curate. Because the said friar may act, or profess to act according to that form of law, whose chapter begins with the word "Lately," &c.

13. Whoever confesses to friars admitted according to the above form are obliged to repeat the self-same sins in confession to the parish curate.

14. I firmly believe that there is not a worthy man among the mendicant orders.

15. I doubt if the friars be priests, or have received the priestly character.

16. I would be unwilling to abide by any decision, even from the Pope, unless from a general council.

17. No priest, regular or secular, ought to beg.

The very extravagance of these fulminations of a diseased brain rendered them harmless, nevertheless they received some support from a certain hostile element. When such an unrestrained clerical bitterness is added to the deliberate hostility of the Anglo-Irish it will be seen that the Irish Church, the Irish friars especially, must have been courageous indeed to tolerate it. As Malone says truly in treating of the attitude of the Anglo-Irish Church: "That church was part and parcel of a thoroughly hostile camp in an enemy's country. If the clergy met, it was generally for purposes of earthly attack or defence; for levying forces or contributions, rather than for enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, and the reformation of the people."

Yet, in the face of every difficulty and danger, in spite of hostility within the Church and without it, the Mendicants went their way perseveringly, founding new convents, building churches, educating the ignorant, attending to the temporal needs of the poor and the spiritual needs of the sick. By their preaching and missionary labours they did immense good in restoring discipline, and recalling those whom the circumstances of the times had led astray. They were often exceedingly poor, but the liberality of the rich and the generosity of the poor secured them a livelihood.

There were few additional convents erected by the Carmelites in this century, but those they already possessed were in a most flourishing condition.

In the year 1412 the Carmelite abbey of BORRISCARRA, in the county of Mayo, was given by Pope John XXIII to the Augustine friars.

The abbey of KILCORMICK, or Frankford, in the barony of Ballyboy, King's County, was founded for the Carmelites, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, by Odo, Hugh O'Molloy, about the year 1430. In a Missal, formerly belonging to this monastery, and at present in the library of Trinity College, Dublin,[1] there are entries of the deaths of remarkable persons in this neighbourhood, especially of the noble house of the founder, from which we quote the following:

1410, July 28. Terence and Tathen O'Molloy, the sons of Niall, were killed by the men of Clonmalura. On whose souls may the Lord have mercy. Amen.

1427. Fergal O'Molloy, Lord of Fercall, died; and Rory, son of Niall O'Molloy, was elected in his place. —Four Masters.

1431. On Good Friday died Rory O'Molloy,

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[1] B. 3. 1.

chieftain of Fercall, on whose soul may the Lord have mercy. Amen.

1454. On the feast of St. Remigius (October 1st) died Hugh or Odo O'Molloy, Lord of Fercall, and founder of the Abbey of Kilcormick. He was buried in the monastery, before the high altar. May the Lord have mercy on his soul. Amen.

1468, June 22nd. Died Friar Oliver Druhul.

1468, August 19th. Died Edmund Brakan, Prior of Kilcormick.

1476, May 5th. Died Charles O'Molloy, son of Sechna, a brave man, endowed with every human grace; he was buried in the monastery of St. Mary of Kilcormick, at the third step, near the head of the choir on the north side; on whose soul may the Lord have mercy. Amen.

1478. Died on the vigil of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 7th), Niall, son of Cucorgy O'Molloy, who is buried before the high altar at Kilcormick. May the Lord have mercy on his soul. Amen.

1503. On the feast of St. Mathew the Evangelist (September 21st), a deed was executed between Theobold O'Molloy, son of Donogh, and his wife on the one part, and the friars of Kilcormick on the other.

1525. On the octave of the Epiphany (January 13th) the two sons of Hugh O'Molloy, viz., Hugh and Constantine, were violently dragged from the church by Charles O'Molloy and his followers and slain near the gate of the monastery of Kilcormick; on whose souls may the Lord have mercy. Amen. Reader say a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* for the benefit of their souls and all others.

1536, September 8th. Died of the plague, Friar Nicholas O'Brachan, Prior of Kilcormick.

1541, May 14th. Died Master Roger Doduygem, a

venerable and discreet man, of lofty genius, of marvellous discretion, and of great liberality, full of grace and truth before God and all saints; on whose soul may the Lord have mercy. Amen.

1542. Charles O'Molloy, chief of his tribe, died on the octave of the Epiphany, and was buried in Kilcormick. (A man of great name and renown in his time.—Four Masters.)

1553. Contan O'Molloy, son of Charles, Prior of Duru (Durrow?), was slain on the vigil of St. Mathew September 20th). A man famous and generous throughout the regions of Clonlune, throughout Dellna and Cloncolman; on whose soul may the Lord have mercy. Amen.

1567. Died Arthur O'Molloy, chief of his tribe.

1568, November 15th. Died Friar Rory O'Morrissy.

This beautiful old Missal is in manuscript throughout, inscribed on parchment in red and black, with initials of every page illuminated simply in green, red, and white. The obituary notices are at the head of the initial pages, which are a Calendar. The Rubrics are in red. Elsewhere the margins are illuminated in red, green, and silver. The whole is a beautiful example of monastic penmanship, and is well worth careful examination. The Litanies, musical notation, and a supplement, apparently of an earlier period than the main work, are particularly interesting. Unfortunately eight leaves towards the end are very badly torn and damaged.

The following is a translation of the Irish original of the deed referred to under date 1503. The translation is that of Dr. Todd:

"This is the Indenture that was made between Theobold, the son of Donogh, and the friars, and his wife and his children, and on the day of the festival of Mathew Evangelist it was written, and the tenor of

the Indenture is, that the friars are to give these people a pledge for their part of *Baile Athabuidhe* (Ballyboy); and this is the way the pledge is to be distributed, viz., eleven cows to John O'Molloy, and two cows to the son of Mortogh, son of Hugh, and four cows to Theobold himself; and these are the sort of cows the friars have undertaken to give away, viz., beautiful, fat, and in calf cows, and to be given up at the time of perfecting this writing. And this is the food that the friars owe along with that, viz., the food of four persons each quarter of a year, according to the custom of the country. The annals of the Lord are one thousand and five hundred and three years."

In 1434 Thomas Scrope, the famous Carmelite anchorite of the hermitage attached to the Norwich (Bradley) priory, was created Bishop of Dromore by Eugenius IV. He resigned his see of his own accord somewhere before the year 1440, when he submitted himself once more to the discipline of the Order and continued to live totally cut off from worldly affairs. He was summoned thence, against his will, to undertake the responsible duties of Apostolic Legate to Rhodes. It was a critical period in the history of that famed island. "Constantinople first, then Rhodes," had been the threat of the Sultan, Mohammed II. Therefore, when in 1453 he attacked Constantinople, in cynical violation of the numerous treaties he had signed so ostentatiously, the Knights Hospitallers prepared for a vigorous defence. On May 29th Constantinople fell. Then the Sultan sent the Knights a summons to be vassals to his throne and pay yearly tribute. "God grant," replied the Grand Master, "that I may not leave as slaves or vassals the Order I found free and glorious. If the Sultan wishes to be lord of Rhodes he must pass over my dead body." The siege of the fortress began in 1480. The successful

resistance of the Knights, under their heroic Grand Master, Peter d'Aubusson, was one of the famous achievements of the century. The ultimate victory of the defenders against enormous odds was attributed to the intercession of the patron of the Order, St. John Baptist. A vision of the saint clad in goat-skins, and followed by angels bearing flaming swords, was said to have been seen not only by the Christians, but by the infidels as well. Ware writes that the Legate was " descended of a noble stock, but more noble were his virtues," whilst Leland says that " he was very much beloved by the King of Rhodes, for he was employed thither as Ambassador. He was likewise much esteemed at Rome, and was in great favour with Pope Eugene IV, to whom he dedicated some historical books of the Affairs of the Carmelites. He lived to a decrepid age (almost 100 years) and died in England in 1491. His sepulchre is shown in Lovetoft, a seaport-town of Suffolkshire, where the Carmelites would seem to have had a ' cell,' but of which we have found mention nowhere but in this connection. Long before his death he resigned his bishopric. There is extant in the Public Library of Cambridge a manuscript book of his, *Of the Institution of the Order of Friers Carmelites*, which he dedicated to John Blackney, a Black Monk."

This holy man was in his time, and after, regarded by many as a saint.

The last two lines of his epitaph, as given by Bale, are :

Venit ad occasum morbo confectus amaro;
Spiritus alta petit, pondere Corpus humum.

A sharp Disease did bring him unto Death;
His soul went up, his Earth returned to Earth.

He wrote, according to Bale, *Of the Institution of the Carmelites*, Of the same Order to Pope Eugenius

IV, *A Catalogue of the Saints of the Order, A Compendium of Histories and Laws, Of the Papal Privileges, Of the Introduction of Sects into England, Of His Voyage to Rhodes, Sermons on the Ten Commandments*, and other works. He also translated into English ten books of Philip Ribot à Catalan.

When he fled into Germany he left behind him in Ireland his writings on the Carmelite Order in manuscript. The great age to which he attained in spite of, or more probably because of, his scanty diet and penitential life was in these days, and later, used as an argument to support the contention of those who claimed that dieting according to the strictest rules, combined with tranquillity of mind, was a most powerful factor in the conserving of good health and the securing of a long life.

Three days after the death of Dr. Silk in 1450 the custody of the temporalities of the see of Meath was committed to Sir William Ouldhall, chamberlain to Richard, Duke of York, who was at that time engaged in his quarrel with the royalists, and conspiring to seize the crown of England. The Holy See promoted Edmund Ouldhall, a Carmelite of Norwich, to the vacant see in the same year. Edmund died on the 9th (or 29th) of August, 1459, at Ardbraccan, and was buried in St. Mary's Church in the same place. A splendid monument was erected over his remains, which, with many other tombs, was swept away when a site was being cleared for the erection of the present Protestant church.

The convent of CORK dated its origin from the fifteenth century, but the name of the founder, as well as the records of its suppression, have perished. It is mentioned by De Burgo in his *Hibernia Dominicana*.

The abbey of RATHMULLIN, barony of Kilmacrennan, county of Donegal, was erected at the

close of the fifteenth century by the McSwiney Fannagh.

In the reign of Henry VII, 1495, a law was passed, during the administration of Lord Deputy Poynings, and called after him. Poynings' Law provided that all former laws passed in and for England should be in force in Ireland, that an Irish Parliament could not be held without the permission of the English Parliament, and that, even then, no bill which had not been considered and approved by the Privy Council of England should be brought into either House in Ireland, and that every bill so considered and approved should be either passed without amendment or rejected. The oppressive severity of the Act only made the proud islanders more determined to assert their rights against the invaders. Poynings and others found difficulty in obtaining the aid of subordinate officers to enforce the measure. On the other hand, they were supported by the Anglo-Irish, and the clergy who had come over from England were not behind the others in lending their aid to put the alien law into operation. It was in the way of nature, perhaps, that they should do so. Therefore, though we may not be surprised, we are certainly ashamed to find one of the English Carmelites resident in Ireland serving as the means of communication between the English Government and Sir James Ormond.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CARMELITES IN IRELAND—(*Continued*)
(The Reformation Period)

"Foul deeds will rise,
Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes."

Whatever measure of success England may have had in crushing the patriotic spirit of the Irish people—and the persistence of that spirit, with its triumphal renewal in our own day, proves how small in fact it was—all her might and all her cruelty availed her nothing when she sought to tear from them the ancient Catholic Faith which their beloved apostle, Patrick, had brought to them in the days of their pagan darkness. They were of the royal house and spiritual lineage of St. Peter, and no power could force them to adopt instead the bar-sinister on the soiled escutcheon of any heretical English monarch. They might suffer terribly, as they did suffer, for their fidelity, but they had learned to accept every adversity in the spirit of the Man of Sorrows. In these days, as before and since, religious and political interests were closely associated. Indeed, the Irish struggle down through the centuries has been, to a great extent at least, one between God and Mammon.

Henry VIII had been about twenty-five years on the throne of England before he began to take any active interest in Irish affairs. By this time he had broken entirely with the religion of his forefathers, and was, like his one-time antagonist, Martin Luther, a bitter

enemy of the Catholic Faith. The Act of Supremacy had already been passed in England, and the work of suppression was going on apace. He now sought to extend his " spiritual " supremacy to Ireland, but from the beginning he was met with an unflinching fidelity to Christ's sole Vicar on earth.

The Parliament of May, 1536, consisted entirely of English colonists, and was the outcome of fraud and corruption. This assembly acknowledged Henry as the supreme head of the Irish Church and State, and declared the Catholic religion null and void and corrupt for ever.

The first bill for the suppression of the religious houses was bitterly opposed in both houses of Parliament, and especially in the Commons under the able leadership of the King's Sergeant, Sir Patrick Barnewall, who declared openly that the Act of Supremacy gave him power to reform, but not to secularise them. However, at a Parliament held at Dublin in 1541, Henry was given the title of King of Ireland, and the general suppression of the religious houses was ordered. The renegade Augustinian Provincial, George Brown, whom Henry created Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, was sent over from England to convert the Irish to the new doctrines. He was seconded by the apostate Staples, Bishop of Meath. But they met with no success anywhere, and, after eighteen months, Brown could report scarcely any progress. The Catholic bishops were driven from their sees and perverts were substituted in their place. However, the Holy See continued to appoint pastors to look after the spiritual interests of the flocks, and these holy men remained faithful to their trust in the face of every danger.

Eugene MacBrechan, an English Carmelite, Professor of Theology, was elected Bishop of Ross, probably by Henry VIII, and was absolved from Censures on the

21st of November, 1541, as appears from the Consistorial Acts of Paul III. For some reason or other we find Dermot McDomniul in possession in 1544. But on Mary's coming to the throne Eugene was presented to the Holy Father as bishop—a significant fact—and was by him rightly and canonically confirmed in that office. From the same source we gather that he continued in that see till his death, the 12th of February, 1574. As MacBrechan was preceded and followed by Catholic bishops in unbroken succession this diocese would seem to have defied the efforts of the reformers to hand over the entire governance of the Church in Ireland to the minions of the King of England.

A commission was issued to Sir Anthony St. Leger and others to survey and repress all the friaries in Ireland. Of these pre-reformation houses the Carmelites had, probably, as many as thirty-two (*cf.* Ch. XXII), particulars of most of which have been given in the preceding chapters, or will be given later.

A most cruel persecution now began. As in England, every shred of scandal was ferreted out, magnified, and distorted, so that one is frequently at a loss what to believe in reading the lurid pages of the " Presentments and Grievances," the reports of the king's reformed and pliant visitors, and the other State Papers. " There were critics," writes Richard Bagwell,[1] " who represented them (the Irish monks and friars) as in every way worse than their English brethren, but some of these were men who desired the destruction of the abbeys that they might divide their lands, and whose indignation had not been excited by abuses until the wishes of the English court were known. . . . . There is ample evidence that the monks were not all bad. The education of the children was almost entirely in

[1] *Ireland Under the Tudors*, Richard Bagwell, M.A.

their hands. . . . . As to the services of the friars in holding stations, in visiting the sick, and in preaching, there can be no doubt whatever. Religion in Ireland was in fact only maintained by them. Most of the friaries had been founded or beautified by great families, who still continued to befriend them, and who reserved a last resting-place within their walls. . . . The Augustinian hermits and the Carmelites had many houses, but were much less important than the other two orders."

Indeed the value of the friars in the cause of religion and the general good appears from the whole history of this time, and accounts for the extraordinary affection for them that has never died out in the hearts of the Irish people. But no virtue might save them from the insatiable rapacity of the "puffed and reckless libertine" who paid them the compliment of regarding them as the most loyal adherents to the papacy. The monasteries and religious houses were mercilessly suppressed, and the friars persecuted, put to death, or cast out on the world as homeless wanderers. Apart from the definitely ascertained facts tradition has in many parts of the country, where the handing of it on from generation to generation was regarded as a most sacred duty, preserved the knowledge of their fidelity. Thus in Westmeath one hears still of the Carmelite friars of the suppressed abbey of Ardnacranna taking refuge in the caves and woods of the country, where the people gathered in secret to receive the consolations of their holy religion. We also find them, here and elsewhere, temporarily putting off their proscribed habits, for friars were declared outlaws to be shot at sight or hanged to the nearest tree, and performing parochial duties. Many of them fled to their brethren in Spain and elsewhere, and the Carmelites of the Province of Andalusia earned the undying gratitude of the Irish

Province by the tender fraternal love they showed to their persecuted brethren in bitter exile. This persecution is likened by the Four Masters to that of the Primitive Church under the Roman emperors. So complete was the extirpation that little or nothing is known of the countless houses of the various orders, or of those who suffered and died for the Faith. It is significant that, whereas the friars remained loyal in the face of every suffering, we have, in the catalogues of the Irish Martyrs submitted in recent years to the Congregation of Rites, only two cases belonging to this reign, viz., the guardian and friars of the Franciscan convent at Monaghan, beheaded, and Robert and other Cistercian monks of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, imprisoned and put to death. There must have been great numbers of others whose names, had they been recorded, would have been inscribed on the honour roll of confessors and martyrs. But the keeping of records was out of the question. It was neither safe nor practicable to do so. The real wonder is in the amount of information that has in fact been collected by diligent research.

The following Carmelite abbeys were suppressed by Henry VIII :

The abbey of Kildare was surrendered by the prior on the 3rd of April, 1539. At that time its possessions consisted of a church, a belfry, dormitory, hall, and two chambers. Also a messuage, a garden, and a close containing one acre, as well as a cottage and six acres of arable land in Kildare. Annual value, besides reprises, 3*s.* 4*d.*[1] This house was granted, together with the Franciscan monastery, in capite to Daniel Sutton. It was sold for £1. The precise site of the old abbey is not known, but we find a clue to it in the Acts of

[1] Chief Remembrancer.

Settlement and Explanation (Grants). Under date the 8th of August, 1667, it is referred to as follows: "A parcell of land in or near ye Corporation town of Kildare, near adjoining to the dissolved fryery, called Monasterfigue, or White Fryery, called by ye name of Konokerbeg, with ye tolls and duties of the fairs, and also the privileges and rights thereunto belonging."

The abbey of Cloncurry was surrendered on the 30th of April, 1539, its property then consisting of a church and belfry, chapter-house, dormitory, hall, two chambers, a kitchen, an orchard, three cottages, and ten acres of arable land in Cloncurry—annual value besides reprises, 12*s.* 8*d.*[1] On the 18th of January, 1542, the friary, together with ten acres of land, was granted for ever in capite to William Dickson, at the annual rent of 8*d.*, Irish money, and on the 31st of May, 1556, it was granted, together with one messuage, one cottage, twenty-eight acres of arable land, and seven of pasture, to Richard Slayne, for the term of twenty-one years, at the annual rent of 16*s.* By an inquisition held on the 30th of March, 1618, it was found that the friary and property had passed to one Andrew Forster, late of Ballinskeagh, county of Meath.

The Dublin monastery, which had long been known as Whitefriars, was surrendered by the prior, John Kelly, on the 3rd of August, 1539. Besides the monastery there was a church, steeple, chapter-house, dormitory, two chambers, one hall, a small parcel of land, and an orchard half an acre in extent, nine messuages, seven gardens, with two meadows, containing in all five acres, lying in Dublin and the suburbs thereof. At the time of the surrender part of the land was held from Sir John Rawson, knight, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, by service, at an

[1] Chief Remembrancer.

annual rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* On the 10th of July, 1542, the monastery and most of the property was granted by Henry to Nicholas Stanihurst. It was afterwards granted by Queen Elizabeth to Francis Aungier, who was created Baron of Longford, on the 29th of July, 1621. Aungier, Whitefriars', and other streets were erected on the site.

By an inquisition taken on the 18th of May, 1601, it appears that the monastery contained three castles, a hall, divers chambers and necessary buildings within the site, with sundry appurtenances, three gardens and an orchard in Sheep Street and St. Stephen Street, and three parks containing four acres of meadow near the house. Also that Walter Ball, late an alderman of the city of Dublin, had been seized of the premises.

The abbey of Athboy continued to flourish till the year 1539, when the prior and community were obliged to yield to force and surrender their convent and property, which consisted of a church, belfry, cloister, a stone tower, a mansion, small orchard, and six small gardens, all within the precincts. Also eight messuages situated in the town of Athboy, two other messuages there waste, and four acres of meadow called "The Friars' Meadow" in Adenston, near Athboy. On the 21st of June, 1542, the monastery with eleven messuages, three cellars, an orchard, and six gardens in Athboy, together with the Adenston meadow, were granted to Thomas Casey.[1]

The last prior of Thurles abbey was Donatus O'Houleghan. In 1539 the abbey, with fifteen acres of land, five gardens, and the priory of Athassel, was granted to Thomas, Earl of Ormond, to hold, in capite, at a yearly rent. In 1562 Elizabeth confirmed the same, but remitted the reserved rent.

In 1539 the abbey of Ardee, with eleven messuages,

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[1] Carew MSS., Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth, v. 602, p. 142.

eight gardens, two parks, a mill, and a watercourse, was surrendered to the crown by Patrick, the last prior.

The convent of Drogheda was suppressed in 1541, reverting to the crown.

Under date 1557-8 we find [1] a grant to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and commonalty of Drogheda, amongst other religious property, of " the late house of the Carmelite friars and the Hospital of St. Laurence the Martyr, with all their possessions in Drogheda: To hold for ever." Rent for the Carmelite House, £1 8*s*. 4*d*. And under Elizabeth (1567): " Brief of the suits of Drogheda to the Queen. Pray that the abatement or allowance of the rents of the Hospitals of St. Mary de Urso and St. Laurence, and the houses of the White Friars and the Augustine Friars, be made for the maintenance of a free school." In 1605 King James granted to Sir Garret Moore, privy councillor, the rectory and tithes of St. Mary's in Drogheda.

In the same year the convent of Galway was suppressed, but, unintimidated by the terrors that surrounded them, including the threat of death, the Carmelites continued after the suppression of their convent to impart the blessings of religion to the faithful in this district.

As far as we have been able to trace, the next convent to fall a prey to the plunderers of the sixteenth century was the abbey of Knocktopher. In 1542 this venerable establishment was granted, with eight townlands, fifteen messuages, and other property, to Robert Eustace and others to the use of Thomas Barnewell, to hold for ever, in capite, in consideration of the sum of £88 13*s*. 4*d*., at the annual rent of 4*s*. Irish. On the 8th of January, 1559, pardon was granted to Sir James Botiller, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, and Sir Nicholas White, of

[1] Patent and Close Rolls, Chancery, Ireland.

Portrane, Master of the Rolls, for alienating the possessions of the late House of Friars Carmelites, of Knocktopher, in consideration of a fine of £2 10*s.* 2*d.* The scandalous and murderous circumstances under which this " alienation " took place will be seen later.[1] The property remained in the White family till 1677, when it was purchased by the Sandfords, and from them passed by purchase to the Langrishe family, the present owners.

In the year 1543 the convents of Leighlin-Bridge and Kinsale were confiscated to the crown.

We have not been able to discover the exact dates at which the following houses were suppressed, but they were, probably, all included in the general suppression under Henry VIII.

Hoartown was granted to Sir John Davis, who soon after assigned it to Francis Talbot. Loughrea continued to flourish till it was granted, together with the houses of St. John the Baptist in Tuam, Rosserely, Kilbought, Aughrim, and Anagdowne, to Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, and his heirs, in capite, at the annual rent of £68 9*s.* 6*d.* Crevaghbane was given, together with the abbey of Mayo, to the burgesses and commonalty of the town of Athenry. Knockmore, Cork, Miltown, Clara, and Ballynehinch also fell under the mailed fist of the freebooters at the same time.

Writing of Ardnacranna, Father Cogan says :[2] " The memory of this abbey had almost departed. It is still indeed remembered in the traditions of the faithful people, but the vandalism of the Reformation has swept away its records, and completely obliterated its history. At the confiscation of the church property by Henry VIII, a temporary lease of this monastery was granted to James Dillon of Dunimoney, who, in consequence

[1] Chap. XX.
[2] *The Diocese of Meath.*

of the protection he extended to the clergy, and his continuing them in possession of their abbey, lands, and church property, was nicknamed by the Reformation gentry 'The Prior.'" On the 20th of March, 1546, this monastery with all its estates was granted by Henry VIII to Sir Robert Dillon, the Attorney-General, for a fine of £33 13*s.* 4*d.*, to hold for ever by knight's service, that is, by the tenth part of a knight's fee, as scrutage runs, at a rent of 16*d.* Sir Lucas Dillon, son to Sir Robert, got a confirmatory grant of the said lands with all their appurtenances and hereditaments."

On the 28th of January, 1547, Henry VIII died, but his demise brought with it no abatement of the religious persecution which was continued in the reign of Edward VI. With the accession of Mary the outlook for the Church improved somewhat, though politically she was as bitter an enemy of Ireland as either her father or her successor Elizabeth.

The abbey of Leighlin-Bridge was surrendered by William, the last prior, and by an inquisition "taken on the Friday next after the feast of the conception of the Blessed Virgin, 34th Henry VIII, the said William was found seized of a church and belfery, dormitory, hall, two chambers and a kitchen, with a cemetery and a garden containing one acre; also twenty-four acres of pasture, and an eel-weir in Leighlin, annual value, besides reprises, 46*s.* 8*d.* An inquisition, 3rd Edward VI, finds that the prior was also seized of four acres of arable land near Clowe's orchard, in this county, annual value, besides reprises, 16*d.*" [1] In 1577 it was taken by Rory Oge O'More, who destroyed the town by fire, and in 1649 it fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians under Colonel Hewson.

Mary died on the 17th of November, 1558, when she

[1] Chief Remembrancer.

was succeeded by Elizabeth, and all hope of toleration was over for the persecuted Irish Church.

The Carmelite monastery, Whitefriars, Dublin, was made the headquarters of Sir Edward Fyton, Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer at Wars, and we find a series of letters from him on important matters bearing this address. They extend over the period from the 10th of April, 1573, to the 6th of November of the same year. One of these, dated the 8th of May, and addressed to Secretary Sir Thomas Smith, is interesting. In it Fyton states that he has cleared himself of the Earl of Clanricarde's charges. Smith's son is not with the maligners. He encloses twenty-two articles drawn up by himself against the Earl " as a maintainer of all the rebellions in Connaught, since his (Fyton's) first entrance as president." This Catholic Earl of Clanricarde had given a lease of the friary at Loughrea to Father Darby McGrath, and it was here that, in all probability, the persecuted Carmelite Bishop, Malachy O'Malone, took refuge from time to time from the human blood-hounds of Elizabeth. This was likely one of the " rebellions " of which the Earl was declared to be a maintainer.

In this reign the persecution was intensified, and the work of suppressing the religious houses was carried to its conclusion, the following Carmelite convents being suppressed, destroyed, or handed over to the greedy minions of the court :

The site, ambit, and precinct of the late Carmelite abbey of Kilcormick, with all its hereditaments in O'Molloy's country, was given to Robert Leicester. By patent, dated the 24th of July, 1579, the queen demised these to George Colley for twenty-one years in reversion, after the determination of a former lease to Henry Colley, Esq., for a term of twenty-one years, then in being, and commencing at Michaelmas, 1566.

On the 1st of January, 1597, she demised the same in reversion to Thomas Lamben for thirty-one years.

Ballinsmale was occupied by the Carmelites as late as the year 1561, about which time, or perhaps a little later, it was surrendered. An inquisition of the monastery was made in 1584 in which Father Donatus O'Gormaly is mentioned as the last prior. This convent has derived a certain fame from its association with the name of the Carmelite Bishop Malachy O'Malone, of whom we shall write later.

The convent of Castle-Lyons was annexed to the crown in the year 1561, but it continued to exist till 1569, when it became numbered among the ruins of the country.

Ballynegall, with half a carucate of land, was granted by Elizabeth in 1586 to the trustees of Trinity College, Dublin.

Kaltrah-ne-Pallice was granted in 1589 to John Rawson at the yearly rent of £8 12*s.* 7*d.*, Irish.

The existence of certain Carmelite abbeys at this late date is hard to understand. Some were so small and so far out of the way that they escaped the attention of the reformers, or else would not repay the necessary trouble. The reason was, however, quite different in the case of the abbey of Rathmullin. This abbey was situated in the barony of Kilmacrennan, in the county of Donegal, and was erected at the close of the fifteenth century by McSwiney Fannagh for the use of the Carmelites, being dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Thanks to the virile Catholicism and determined opposition to Elizabeth of the northern chiefs, English domination had never prevailed in Ulster. If one abbey of the Order is more closely associated than another with a stirring incident in Irish history it is this one, which was made the background for one of the most perfidious acts in the entire story of English misrule in Ireland.

The Deputy Perrot, not a bad man on the whole, was ever in fear of a revolt on the part of O'Donnell and the other princes of Ulster, who had refused to submit to the demands of the English and to give him hostages. Being unable to overcome them in battle, he resorted to a strategem worthy of a pirate or a brigand devoid of all sense of honour and probity. To this end he called in the services of a Dublin merchant named John Bermingham, whom he ordered to fit out a vessel with wine and other merchandise (1587). When the ship was ready the Deputy embarked fifty armed men, and ordered the captain to sail for the shores of Tirconnell, to put into some port there as if to sell his merchandise, and to allure on board if possible the young O'Donnell in order to bring him to Dublin as a prisoner. Young Red Hugh, yet scarcely twenty years of age, had long proved a sore thorn in the side of the English queen, who was determined to be rid of him by foul means since fair means, of which she and her advisers knew so little, were unavailing. The sequence is best told in the vivid words of A. M. Sullivan, as related in his *Story of Ireland.*

" Near Rathmullin, on the western shore of Lough Swilly, looking towards the mountains of Innishowen, stood a monastery of Carmelites and a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the most famous place of devotion in Tyrconnell, whither all the Clan-Connell, both chiefs and people, made resort at certain seasons to pay their devotions. Here the young Red Hugh, with MacSwyne of the battle-axes, O'Gallagher of Ballyshannon, and some other chiefs, were in the summer of 1587 sojourning a short time in that part to pay their vows of religion; but not without staghounds and implements of the chase, having views on the red deer of Fanad and Innishowen. One day, while the prince was here, a swift-sailing merchant-ship doubled the

promontory of Dunaff, stood up the Lough, and cast anchor opposite Rathmullin; a 'bark, black-hatched, deceptive,' bearing the flag of England, and offering for sale, as a peaceful trader, her cargo of Spanish wine. And surely no more courteous merchant than the master of that ship had visited the north for many a year. He invited the people most hospitably on board, solicited them, whether purchasers or not, to partake of his good cheer, entertained them with music and wine, and so gained very speedily the good will of all Fanad. Red Hugh and his companions soon heard of the obliging merchant and his rare wines. They visited the ship, where they were received with all respect, and indeed, with unfeigned joy; descended into the cabin, and with connossieur discrimination tried and tasted, and finally drank too deeply; and at last when they would come on deck and return to the shore, they found themselves secured under hatches; their weapons had been removed; night had fallen; they were *prisoners* to those traitor Saxons. Morning dawned, and they looked anxiously towards the shore; but, ah! where is Rathmullin and the Carmelite Church?"

For seven long years the Young Hugh and his companions pined in the grated dungeons of that Bermingham Tower which still stands in Dublin Castle yard. But in 1594 he, together with MacSwine, O'Gallagher, Henry and Art, the sons of Shane O'Neill, and Philip O'Reilly, by the aid of Fiach O'Byrne, the most relentless enemy of the English, and the young Edward Eustace, of the illustrious house of Baltinglass, made their escape and arrived in Ulster after many and great hardships. Hugh O'Donnell was, although little more than a boy, one of the most powerful of the lords of Ireland after O'Neill. His prudence and other virtues were remarkable, but his life was chiefly distinguished

by his extraordinary zeal for the Catholic Faith. On his arrival home his father, already advanced in years, yielded him all his rights, and he was unanimously proclaimed and crowned Prince of Tyrconnell. He immediately took the generous resolution of employing all his power in defence of his religion and country, and to this end he united all the branches of the house of Tyrconnell. This confederation became a terror to the English, by which they were defeated time and again. Acting always in concert with the valiant Hugh O'Neill, Lord of Tyrone, their success was so great that Elizabeth became alarmed, so that she withdrew her troops from the war in the Low Countries to reinforce those in Ireland. Thus was the young prince revenged for his treacherous imprisonment.

Rathmullin is also remarkable in Irish history in connection with "the flight of the Earls," for it was from here that that illustrious company of chieftains embarked for their exile.

At this time George Bingham the younger occupied the castle of Sligo, with a garrison of two hundred men composed of English and Irish. Bingham, thirsting for loot, left the castle under the command of Ulick Burke and embarked with a part of the garrison in two boats. It was scarcely a year after the escape of Red Hugh. Sailing round Tyrconnell he entered Lough Swilly and landed at Rathmullin. Taking advantage of the absence of MacSwine, who was with the army of O'Donnell, he pillaged the town and the great monastery of the Carmelites, carrying off the vestments, chalices, and other valuable articles belonging to the friars.[1] On his

[1] Cardinal Moran, apparently deceived by the designation "convent," made a strange mistake when he described, in reference to this incident, the community of Rathmullin as one of Carmelite nuns. There were no nuns of the Order in Ireland at this time. (*Cf. History of the Archbishops of Dublin.*)

return to Sligo he distributed a part of his spoils among his soldiers who had shared in the sacrilege. Ulick Burke resented the partiality of this Englishman, who gave nothing to the Irish soldiers, and determined to be avenged. He fixed a day for his project. The Irish mercenaries attacked the English, their chief killed Bingham with a dagger, and the castle was delivered to O'Donnell, who made Ulick Burke governor. Again Red Hugh played the part of avenger, this time of a sacrilegious spoliation.

We have mentioned Bishop Malachy O'Malone in connection with the convent of Ballinsmale. We must now give some consideration to his remarkable career.

Malachy O'Malone was born in Ballintobber, in the county of Mayo, in the year 1522. He joined the Carmelite Order in the convent of Ballinsmale in the same county. Here he was professed in 1584, and continued to live for the next twelve years, when he set out for Seville, accompanied by two other Carmelites, Thomas Lynch and Garrot Fitzgerald. With them were four others, who would seem to have joined the Franciscans in that city. The reason for their departure was almost certainly the surrender of their friary, and the cruel religious persecution that was then being waged on the Church. Robert Ware, of whom more presently, says that O'Malone remained two years at Seville, going thence to Paris, and later, *via* Scotland, to Ireland on a mission to Shane O'Neill. These biographical details are probably correct. But there is little else of this infamous calumniator and forger's writing that bears the mark of the truth. Before proceeding to the consideration of his alleged biography of the Bishop of Kilmacduagh we must know who this Robert Ware was..

After more than a century of dire religious persecu-

tion the discovery, towards the close of the seventeenth century, of the supposed Popish Plot let loose in England an epidemic of malicious impostures. Individuals there were in plenty to play the part of spies and to swear away the life and good name of any faithful layman, priest, or bishop. Some of them did not hesitate, in the furtherance of their contemptible work, to pretend repentance and conversion, and even to offer themselves as candidates for the Jesuit vocation. One of the most notorious of these fabricators of popish plots was Ware, the contemporary of Titus Oates, and the author of the infamous tract, *Foxes and Firebrands*.

He was the son of the eminent Irish Catholic antiquarian, Sir James Ware, whose name is honoured to this day. Because of his father's good name, behind which the worthless son took shelter, his impostures escaped detection till quite recent years, when he was thoroughly exposed by Father Bridgett, who calls him "this literary skunk."

In the pamphlet mentioned above he gives what purports to be a detailed description of the occasion and circumstances under which Bishop Malachy O'Malone became a pervert at Galway in the year 1584. He does not hesitate to claim that his falsehood is founded on official documents which he found among his father's papers. The whole story is now, however, proved to have been a highly-coloured tissue of falsehoods. Among other things he says: "There came to his lordship (*i.e.*, Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland) a Friar Carmelite named Malachias Malone, by some called O'Malone (brother unto Mr. William Eugher), who had been of that Order about thirty-six years. . . . . This Malachias and Sir John had great conference in private; after which the Friar—in the face of a whole congregation met together in St. Stephen's Church of Galway—renounced the Pope's

supremacy, and also the Popish religion." This declaration is said to have been accompanied by a confession implicating others, including the Pope himself. As a matter of fact, there is no trace of any such "confession." There is an official report of Sir John Perrot's in regard to the matter, which we would ask our readers to compare carefully with the above alleged reproduction of its contents. It is: "Lastlie the suspected bishop Malachias Amalone *and a fryer* (brother to *McWilliam Eighter*) did openlie renounce the Pope, swear to the supremacie; and the Frier gave over his habite presentlie, and both made publique profession of their faith and recantation." We have not the space to emphasise the many serious discrepancies in Ware's account, but we would note that the friar here mentioned, who is quite a different person from O'Malone, is elsewhere named by Perrot as "one Thomas Burke, a reconciled Jesuit, and son of the late McWilliam." Again, we would point out, and shall later prove, that Perrot's own document was a deliberate falsehood to besmirch the integrity of a saintly man.

The great question then is, Did the Bishop in fact apostatise? Apart from the solemn duty that devolves on all lovers of the truth to clear the name of an innocent victim, the question is of the utmost importance in view of the fact that a certain class of non-Catholic writers loved to found the claims of the reformed clergy to the validity of their orders on their origin in the consecration of reformed bishops by the Bishop of Kilmacduagh.

Friar Malachias O'Malone was appointed to the see of Killaloe by Pope St. Pius V on the 10th of January, 1571. Henceforth his life was one of the greatest zeal for Catholic truth, a zeal that made him an object of intense hatred to the officials of Elizabeth, and placed him in imminent peril of his life. His constancy in

suffering and his fidelity to the Church's cause were well known in Rome, and we find Cardinal Alciatus submitting his name for the vacant see of Kilmacduagh on the 4th of July, 1576, and his translation being proclaimed in August of the same year by Pope Gregory XIII.

No doubt an attempt was made to win him over to the heresy by bribes. He was invited by Sir Nicholas Malby to confer with the Queen's Commissioners, and "Letters of Protection" were issued to him to that end. But the integrity of the bishop was proof against every temptation. He refused to sell his soul for a price, as many unfortunates had already done. So, in spite of the Queen's Letters of Protection, he was seized and brought a prisoner to Dublin, where he suffered greatly in captivity till the year 1588.

Now to return to the official report of Sir John Perrot. The recantation alleged therein was supposed to have been made in St. Stephen's Church in Galway at the very time that Malachy O'Malone was actually a close prisoner of the government in Dublin. The shameless unscrupulousness and trickery of the officials is exposed by the fact that the brutal calumny was drawn up by Perrot and accepted by the Dublin authorities under these circumstances. That is all there is to the charge.

On the other hand, there is extant a letter written by the bishop himself in the year 1602 which proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that he was loyal to the Holy See to the bitter end.

Bishop Malachy O'Malone died at a very advanced age, probably between the years 1610 and 1613.

On the 24th of March, 1603, Elizabeth died. She had especially hated Ireland and the Irish. She had sworn to blot out the Catholic name in that country, and she had used all her might to give effect to her

desire. The religious houses had been suppressed and destroyed, while her Protestant ministers supplanted the priests. Her Parliament in Dublin had enacted that the lives of priests were forfeited. If caught they were doomed to be hanged, cut down when half dead, disembowelled and burned, whilst their heads were to be impaled in some public place as objects of derision. He who should be found sheltering a priest was to be hanged and his lands confiscated to the crown. But, as ever before, persecution but made the Irish more loyally Catholic, and they cared nought for the inhuman devices of the English queen. "In free Tirconnel," writes Seumas MacManus,[1] "in free Tyrone, in the Desmond country, in the O'Rourke's of Breffiny, in hundreds of places in Ireland it (the Reformation) had no effect. Priests ministered to their flocks openly; learned monks wrote in their monasteries. But here and there the hands reached, struck, and captured. It captured the Archbishop of Cashel, played with him for a while, as a cat with a mouse, then finding him inflexible tortured him and put him to death. Other priests were seized and hanged." Sir J. Barrington writes[2] of this tyrant a most apt epitaph: "Ireland appeared to Elizabeth as a country of Hydras; every head she severed produced a number of new enemies. She slaughtered and she burned, but she could not exterminate, and, at length, she expired, leaving Ireland to her successor, more depopulated, impoverished, desolated, ignorant, and feeble, but in principle more inveterate and not more *subdued*, than on the day on which she received its sceptre."

The tide of the Protestant Reformation was rolled back from the rock-bound shores of faithful Erin.

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[1] *The Story of the Irish Race.*

[2] *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, Sir Jonah Barrington, LL.D., K.C.

When James I, the first of the Stuart line, ascended the British throne the hope of toleration was reborn in the hearts of the Catholics of Ireland. But the mercenary spirit of this monarch overrode all considerations of religion or ethics. The unfortunate people were soon warned by Mountjoy that James was a good Protestant and as such would show no toleration of Popery. Their hopes were finally dashed when the king himself announced that "It hath seemed proper to us to proclaim, and we hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland, that no toleration shall ever be granted by us; this we do for the purpose of cutting off all hope that any other religion shall be allowed, save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm."

The persecutions of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth were continued, but again they were met by the unconquerable resolution of the Irish Catholics, who were as determined as ever to hold fast to their Faith,— "the only undestroyed monument of their ancient national grandeur."

The notorious Knox had been nominated Protestant Bishop of Raphoe, having previously entered into an engagement to extirpate the Catholic religion in Ireland, for the execution of which intention the king had endowed him with the most ample powers. With the concurrence of Chichester, the Lord Deputy, this "reformer" issued the following edict:

1. All bishops and priests were to quit the kingdom under penalty of death.

2. Whoever should harbour a priest to be punished by the confiscation of his property.

3. All Catholics were forbidden to send their sons or relatives across the seas for education.

4. No Catholic should attempt to discharge the duties of schoolmaster in the kingdom.

5. All persons of every age, sex, rank, to be present at the Protestant service of common prayer on the Lord's Day.

The fortitude of the loyal Irish became famed throughout Europe, and Pope Paul V addressed to them an apostolic letter encouraging them to perseverance. "Ye glory in that Faith," he wrote, "by which your fathers procured for their country the distinguished appellation of an Island of Saints. Nor have the sufferings which ye endured been allowed to remain unpublished; your fidelity and Christian fortitude have become the subject of universal admiration, and the praise of your name has long since been loudly celebrated in every portion of the Christian world. Wherefore be steadfast and persevere: our prayers shall be unceasing."

"In spite of the severity of the laws enacted by Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth up to the reign of James I," writes the Abbé MacGeoghegan, "it is notorious that not as many as sixty Irish embraced, in this space of time, the pretended reform, in an island which contained a population of more than two millions." Thus the Queen of England, powerful and all as she was, could not boast of having established the Protestant religion in Ireland.

CHAPTER XX

THE CARMELITES IN IRELAND—(*Continued*)

(Subsequent History)

" Bartering all for Faith,
Following e'er;
That others deem a wraith,
Fleeting and fair."

The accession of Charles I, on the death of James I (27th of March, 1625), was not likely to bring relief to the Irish Catholics. In ecclesiastical affairs he was completely dominated by Laud, then Protestant Bishop of London.

The members of the religious communities returned as soon as was feasible, and continued their oft interrupted labours. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Carmelites opened up a convent in COOK STREET,[1] Dublin, which was at that time one of the most public thoroughfares in the city. Though the Penal Laws were still in force there had been some little abatement in the fury of their execution. But the enemies of the Church were already preparing to enforce them in all their rigour. On the last day of January, 1609, the privy council of Ireland addressed a letter to the king and the privy council of England by which they solicited permission to take action against the papists. " We have already made your lordships acquainted with the intolerable increase and progress

[1] The chapel occupied the site where now stands the spacious church of Adam and Eve.

of Jesuits, seminarists, priests, and monastic friars, who have arisen in this kingdom, and derive all ecclesiastical law and authority from the bishops of Rome. . . . . We do not require from your royal justice that rigour which is due to their provocation; we only ask, should it be pleasing to his majesty and your lordships, that authority be given to us to that effect, and we doubt not but by moderation we will be able, with little difficulty, to restrain their arrogance, coerce their jurisdiction, diminish their numbers, deaden their attempts, and expose their practises."

On the 1st of April, 1626, the Lord Deputy issued the following proclamation: "Whereas, we have necessarily remarked that the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, Jesuits, friars, and others of that sort, who derive their pretended authority and orders from the see of Rome, in contempt of his majesty's royal power and authority, has bred such an extraordinary insolence and presumption in them, that they not only dare to assemble again here in public places, and celebrate their superstitious rites in all parts of this kingdom, but, moreover, erected houses, edifices called public oratories, colleges, mass-houses, and convents of friars, monks, and nuns in the very sight of the royal council and elsewhere throughout the entire kingdom, and continually exercise jurisdiction in regard to his majesty's subjects, by authority derived from the Roman see, and (under the pretence of instructing and keeping schools in these their monasteries and colleges) educate the youth of this kingdom in their superstitious religion, to the great detriment and contempt of his majesty's royal power and authority, as well as to the great injury of this kingdom, and to the despoiling of the goods of his subjects," etc. Then comes the command for the dis-

solution of all convents of nuns, monasteries, colleges, and other religious houses; for the forbidding of all religious and priests to preach or perform any rite in any public chapel or oratory; for the forbidding of such to teach.

But the Catholics of Ireland were not to be intimidated. They scorned the proclamation. The religious houses and chapels continued to minister as before.

Soon after, the issue was put to the test. By a Bull, dated the 30th of May, 1626, Pope Urban VIII had exhorted the English and Irish Catholics to lose their lives rather than take the Oath of Allegiance till they were free to practise their religion. The Irish Catholics were inspired by this papal exhortation to renewed resistance. In defiance of the proclamation the Carmelites, arrayed in their habits, on St. Stephen's Day, 1626, ventured to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice publicly in their oratory in Cook Street. The lords justices were at the same time assisting at service in Christ's Church, where word was conveyed to them of the "outrage." Immediately Bulkeley, the Protestant Archbishop, sought permission to punish the perpetrators.

Accompanied by the Mayor of the city he sallied forth at the head of a troop of soldiers. Arrived at Cook Street this zealot attempted to disperse the assembly under the pretence that the Jesuits and friars of Dublin were infusing sedition among the Catholic inhabitants. The altar of the Carmelite Friary was demolished, as well as the oratory in which stood a statue of St. Francis. With characteristic puritan ferocity this image was hewn in atoms by the soldiery. Two of the religious were seized, and the archbishop with his troop was about to lead them away to prison, when the pious matrons who had been attending at Mass, assisted by some young men, assailed them with stones and clubs,

rescued the prisoners, put the soldiers to flight, and compelled the over-zealous dignitary to seek a hiding-place in a neighbouring house. A few days after this stirring incident some fifteen religious houses in Dublin, and a chapel of secular priests, were seized upon by the government. In Cork, also, some houses were seized, and an order for similar action was sent to Limerick. The whole kingdom was stirred by the event which was likely to be the starting-point of a new persecution. As a matter of fact, the proclamation was executed with the greatest rigour. The confiscation of the religious houses spread throughout the entire country, and once more the religious were hunted and cast into prison. The privy council of England, of course, gave its full approval to the "responsible" authorities in Ireland in a letter which begins:

"By your letter, we understand how the seditious riot, moved by the friars and their adherents in Dublin, hath, by your good order and resolution, been happily suppressed."

It commanded in the king's name:

"That the house where so many friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the reverend archbishop and the mayor of Dublin received the first affront, be speedily demolished, and be a mark of terror to the resisters of authority, and that the rest of the houses of these suspicious societies should be converted to houses of correction and other public uses; and further, that all fit means should be used to discover the founders, benefactors, and maintainers of such societies and colleges, to certify their names, and to find out the lands, leases, or revenues applying to their uses, and dispose thereof according to the law, to certify also the places of such monasteries, friaries, nunneries, and other religious houses, and the names of all such persons as have put themselves to be brothers and sisters therein,

especially such as are of note, to the end that such evil plants be not permitted to take root anywhere in that kingdom." [1]

Some time later, at what date we cannot say, the Carmelites opened up another house in CORNMARKET. For some reason or other, probably because of the necessity for secrecy, and the furtive way in which they were compelled to minister, nothing is known of this house beyond its existence.

As a consequence of continuous conflict and oppression many parts of the country had grown extremely poor, so that it was impossible for the people to maintain sufficient priests for their spiritual needs.

Under date the 20th of May, 1634, we find an interesting document, being the report of the arbitration in the dispute between the Carmelites and Franciscans in DUNDALK, the cause being heard and the award delivered by the Archbishop of Armagh. The stay of the Carmelites in that town would seem to have been very brief and very stormy. The following is a translation of the original:

" Most Illustrious, &c.,

" We have respectfully received the commands of your illustrious lordships, of which, when the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda was made aware, their Eminences commanded that the Congregation should inquire into our report and opinion concerning the conflicts which the Carmelite Fathers of this kingdom of Ireland had (already) reported to the Congregation. That certain religious of other orders and certain Irish bishops should be convened to put into execution the orders of the letters in the presence of Anthony Walsh, Vicar-Provincial of the Carmelites. Of the other order

[1] *Cabala*, vol. ii, pp. 241, &c.

concerned we cited, on the 13th of December, 1633, Father Taaffe of the Regular Observance of St. Francis, by whom the Carmelite Fathers alleged that they had been injured. When for three consecutive days he had pleaded his cause before us, the Carmelites petitioned for an adjournment until the 14th of May following. The petition was granted, and on the 14th of May, 1634, we resumed our enquiry into the complaints of the Carmelites already begun, and continued for two successive days. The charge of the Carmelites against the said Franciscan, his replies, and the defences of both parties, are given in our report concerning the matter in dispute in the town of Dundalk. We report these word for word to your Eminences (or rather we send you a copy of our report). Briefly it is as follows:

"The sum total of my information is that the Friars Minors of the Franciscan Observance, of whom the said Father Peter Taaffe is one, are reproached by the Carmelite Fathers that having had, during several centuries, a monastery and convent in that town of Dundalk in our diocese of Armagh they did, at the time of the schism and because of the violence of the persecution, relinquish it some years ago and take up their residence in another convent of the order also situated in the diocese of Armagh. When, however, they thought that the violence of the persecution had somewhat abated, and that they would be tolerated in the said town; and considering that the town could not support more than one convent of Regulars; and fearing, moreover, lest any member of another order should come to the town, or take up their residence there (and this applied especially to the Carmelite Fathers, one of whom had already a residence there), they returned to the town, restored their old convent, and lived there conventually under the superiorship of the said Father Peter. Later on, however, the Carmelite

Fathers came, and decided to open up a residence in the town as a kind of hostel, or missionary house, as they alleged. The Franciscans, because of their prior conventual residence, opposed the advent of the Carmelites, and the people cried out loudly against them and resisted them, because of the poverty of the place which did not desire another convent of Regulars since it could scarcely support the one it had, namely, that of the Franciscans, which had been founded centuries before, they having only left the town till the storm of persecution should blow over. Even then their return antedated the advent of the Carmelites. Nay even the Ordinary of the place, that is, the Vicar-Apostolic of the see of Armagh, then vacant, who was at the time pastor of Dundalk, commanded the townsfolk under pain of interdict to be incurred *ipso facto* not to be present at the Masses offered up by the Carmelites, in order that they might thus be compelled to leave the town. This we learned beyond doubt from the admissions of the townspeople themselves and of the said ordinary, as also from their writings at the time. If the Carmelites should determine even now to reside in the town, there is no doubt that the people would not endure it, in view of the fact that they are unable to support both the Franciscans and the Carmelites. And since you desire, not only that I should provide you with the information, but that I should also express an opinion on the merits of the case, I give it as follows:

"Since it is quite evident that the town of Dundalk in this our diocese cannot, on account of its great poverty, support more than one convent of Regulars, my opinion is that the more ancient and pre-existent convent of the Franciscans should be permitted to continue there rather than that the members of another order should be admitted to the town, to the injury of

the Franciscans. And it matters not whether the members of another order should found a hostel, or a house for missioners, or a conventual residence, since they intend to live on the alms of the people, in spite of what they may say to the contrary. The fact remains that this cannot be done, without resulting in the dissolution of the convent of the Franciscans which has pre-existed them for many centuries, and also in great scandal to the people. It is but common sense, I yield my opinion to better judgment, that, in this afflicted kingdom which is now so poor, no new religious order, even of missioners, should be admitted to residence beyond one month in any place where a convent of Regulars already exists, without the consent of the religious then in possession, of the Ordinary of the place, and even of the people themselves. Food ought not to be snatched from those who have it and need it, which would certainly happen among us if a new religious order were admitted. And unless that practise is adhered to in these parts we shall likely see destruction instead of building up, dissensions in place of religion, and rivalries among the religious themselves, and that before Protestants, a contingency which may God avert. Thus, without delivering judgment, but humbly expressing my opinion, as your Eminence required me to do, I bring my epistle to a close, praying God earnestly to grant your very illustrious lordship salvation here and hereafter."

Dated, 20th May, 1630.

Signed. HUGH, Archbishop of Armagh.

The Discalced Carmelites, otherwise known as Teresians, were not in Ireland before the Dissolution of the monasteries. Indeed, their first appearance on Irish soil seems to have been on the occasion of the arrival of sixteen of their number who accompanied

the Spanish expedition in 1599,[8] some of whom may have remained on for a short time. According to the *Hibernia Dominicana* a contingent arrived in the year 1626, their superior being Father Patrick Donovan of Youghal. But their first settled mission was not established till about 1638, when Fathers Edward of the Kings and Paul of St. Ubaldus arrived. They founded a monastery in Dublin, and also took possession of the old suppressed Carmelite abbeys at Athboy, Drogheda, Ardee, Kilkenny, Loughrea, Youghal, and elsewhere. The Calced Carmelites returned about the same time to the scenes of their former labours and sufferings, and, very naturally, claimed those monasteries which persecution had endeared to them, and which had been acquired and built by their predecessors. Besides, when the Teresian reform separated from the parent Order it had been stipulated that they should found convents of their own, and not claim any of those belonging to the brethren whose rule they were, of their own free choice, rejecting. The matter was finally referred to the Holy See, which decided, in the year 1640, that the Teresians should retain the four ancient convents of which they had already taken possession, since there were still so many awaiting occupation.

By this time the Irish Catholics had been driven to adopt extreme measures. They determined, in the year 1641, to take up arms to fight for the preservation of their religion, their liberty, and the exercise of the justice that had so long been denied them. The bells from the church steeples announced the glad tidings, the temples of God were reconciled, and the altars that had been sacrilegiously overthrown were re-erected. In the course of a year a wonderful transformation had been wrought in the outlook of the people, when, on the 24th of October, 1642, a general convention of the Catholics of the nation was assembled at Kilkenny. It

was resolved never again to sheathe the sword till a full and free exercise of their religion was secured. A synod of the clery met in May to consider the position, as a result of which the bishops declared the rebellion justified, and it was unanimously agreed that the war was to be directed against the sectaries, and chiefly puritans, for the defence of the Catholic Faith, the maintenance of the prerogatives and royal rights of the king, the conservation of the liberties of Ireland, and the defence of their own lives and property. So pure was their motive that it was added that " if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions, they are therein declared grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished and restrained with ecclesiastical censures, if, advised thereof, they do not amend." They further pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who should " from the beginning of the present war, invade the possessions of any Catholic or Irish Protestant, not adverse to his cause, or detain any such possessions." A confederation, to be known as the *Confederation of Kilkenny*, was formed to conduct the campaign. The executive authority was vested in a Supreme Council of the Confederated Catholics of Ireland. So signal was the success of the rebellion that, after a few months, the Irish army had secured to itself the greater part of the country. The confederates were now in a position to dictate terms, which would in the circumstances have undoubtedly been granted. But unfortunately the double-dealing Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, found means of persuading the leaders to cease hostilities. The treaty, which was signed at Igginstown on the 15th of September, 1643, was condemned by the majority of the older bishops, priests, and laymen. Seeking to introduce discontent,

which was not difficult in the circumstances, Ormond declared the treaty to be null and void, and, by artifice and cunning, succeeded in causing a division in the ranks of the confederates, which had hitherto shown an unexampled unanimity. However, on the 28th of August, King Charles, compelled by the conditions prevailing in England to accede to their demands, signed, through his envoy, Lord Herbert, articles granting to the Catholics the right to a free exercise of their religion. These articles were not to take effect till the arrival of a Nuncio to be sent over by Pope Innocent X. On the 12th of November, 1645, John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, landed in Ireland as the representative of the Holy See.

The Carmelites availed themselves immediately of the presence of the Papal Nuncio to seek the restoration to them of their ancient abbey of Knocktopher, in the county of Kilkenny, to which end they addressed the following petition to him :

" Eighty years have now passed since, our Fathers in Ireland having been either expelled or slain, the glory of Carmel was destroyed and the chosen Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary made desolate and abolished, till, at last, it pleased the Divine Mercy to choose, through our General who took into account the favourable conditions of the times and of this kingdom, a small number to take possession of our ancient monasteries and to restore our ruined Order. It happened, however, that the old enemy of the human race, jealous of so great a good, took care that this little flock should not only not be received but should be driven out by the inhabitants, although almost all the other orders of Mendicants, and many even of the monks, had resumed possession of their monasteries. For there arose up against us impious men, unmindful of God and His own, who, by force of arms, drove us forth from our

monastery at Knocktopher into possession of which we had entered once more. Thomas White, with sixty others, scaled the walls by means of ladders, and threatened us with death itself, saying at the same time, Are we not Catholics bound by oath to fight for the Faith? God Himself will judge whether their faith were orthodox or destructive of the true Faith.

"We have petitioned his illustrious lordship, the Bishop of Ossory, Ordinary of the place, and the Supreme Council, but from these we have received neither remedy nor consolation. We are, now, at a loss how to proceed further in the matter. We have offered to pay an annual rent for our church and monastery, but we have gained nothing, so that, like fugitives, we are forced to run hither and thither, not having whereon to lay our heads, although our monasteries in Ireland number more than twenty-four, which, for the greater part, are possessed by Catholics though closed against us. And since, as you understand, we cannot lead the monastic and regular life which we have all vowed to God unless we are possessed of a convent, we determined to build a cottage near our convent in Knocktopher, where we might dwell together and devote our lives to the service of the Virgin Mother of God in accordance with our vows. This we were enabled to do by selling whatever we received by way of alms. We even sold the meagre supply of food which we could procure in order to pay the owner of the place. This we can no longer do since the alms are not forthcoming. Wherefore, Illustrious Lord, there remains to us only recourse to you as our refuge, that seeing our miserable condition you may stretch forth a helping hand and use your influence in obtaining for us, since we are willing to resign all claim to the meadows and lands, at least our monastery at Knocktopher, together with its gardens.

"We make this petition, especially, as the above-named Thomas White has no other use for it but that he may use it as a brewery and alehouse: And we pray, etc."

To which the following is added:

The names of the Carmelite convents in Ireland now known to us.

In Leinster. The monastery of St. Saviour in Knock-ingher, the head house; the abbeys of Leighlin; Dublin; Drogheda; Athboy; Trim; Ardee; St. Simon, near Naas; Kilcormick; *Arderamense;* Little Hortown.

In Munster. Thurles; *Barvegalense;* the Blessed Virgin, near Ardfinan; *Felense;* Blessed Virgin, near Limerick, alias *Lehense;* Kinsale; Castle-Lyons.

In Connaught. Ballinsmale; Loughrea; *Callarense;* Galway; *Dalcaccense; Montanense.*

In Ulster. Rathmullin; *Savacense.*[1]

We must pause here to say a word about this and other lists which are to be found of the Irish Carmelite houses, as well as of the number the Order possessed. In it there are included twenty-six pre-Reformation abbeys. Of these we have been unable to identify many under the forms given, viz., Arderamense, Barvegalense, Ardfinan, Felense, Callarense, Dalcaccense, Montanense, and Savacense. Some are almost certainly barbaric Latin forms of old Irish names, corresponding to others in English form given in the text. Thus Drogheda is given as Pontanense. Others, however, seem to be the names of monasteries which we have not mentioned elsewhere. A house is given, for instance, at Tulsk. Ardfinan is a parish in the barony of Iffa

[1] Translated from the Rinuccini Papers, Florence, dated 1645.

and Offa West, in the county of Tipperary. But the only house we otherwise know of in Tipperary is that of Thurles, which is also mentioned. Callarense is Calry, a parish in Sligo. Dalcaccense, originally Dal g-Cais, was a tribe name in County Clare and the adjoining counties. It was also an alternative name for County Clare itself. Montanense and Savacense give us no possible clue. Thus probably four, and possibly six, of these houses are not included in our list, which numbers twenty-seven. Yet the above document, written by the Carmelites themselves in the year 1645, states that these convents are "known to us." Therefore, we cannot doubt their existence at the time. There must also be added Beleek and Vallis-Malis, mentioned later. Thus, according to our reckoning, founded on our own research and the above and other lists, there were from thirty-one to thirty-three Carmelite convents in Ireland before the Reformation. De Burgo, writing in 1762, says:[1] "Some writers assert that this Order (the Carmelites) had thirty-two convents in Ireland; now, however, it can only lay claim to twenty-five." But he gives the same convents we have given, omitting Clara and Borriscara, as well as others contained in the lists.

For some reason or other nothing seems to have come of the appeal to Rinuccini for the restoration of the ancient abbey of Knocktopher. It was probably found impossible to dispossess the then holders of this basely acquired property. Besides, the Pope's legate had quite enough to occupy him in the great affairs of State and Religion without entering into the rights and wrongs of a semi-private affair.

The story of the next twelve months of Irish history is one of its saddest pages. The country that had so

[1] *Hibernia Dominicana.*

successfully united against the common enemy was irreparably divided into two camps, that of the Nuncio and that which followed the Supreme Council. Political and religious freedom were deferred for nigh three centuries. Ormond deserved well of England.

There is no doubt that the principle for which Rinuccini contended was right. He stood resolutely for the freedom of the Church. But his censures and excommunications against the signatories and adherents of the two treaties were very imprudent and most provocative, and there was a question of their validity. It was on this point that the clergy, bishops, priests, friars and laity were divided. Dr. Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, and the learned author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, wrote: "I loved the Nuncio and revere his memory, but it is most certain, that the first cause of our woe and the beginning of our ruin were produced by his censures. The day, on which they were fulminated, should not be in benediction; to the Irish it was most disastrous, and should therefore be noticed with black, ranked among the inauspicious days, and devoted to the furies." The Supreme Council appealed against the excommunication, and it was supported, writes De Burgo,[1] "by two archbishops, twelve bishops, and all the secular clergy in their dioceses; by the *whole orders* of the Jesuits and the Carmelites, many of the Augustinians and Dominicans, about five hundred of the Franciscan order alone, and by the most regular, strict, exemplary, and learned religious of these orders, who, by their number, zeal, learning, industry, painstaking in preaching and otherwise, quite defeated the nuncio's measures and worsted his party." The Nuncio summoned a national synod to assemble at Galway. There in defiance of the interdict the Carmelites con-

[1] *Hibernia Dominicana.*

tinued to officiate in the old church of which they had resumed possession. The Supreme Council entered a protest against the proceeding and drew up an indictment against his eminence. Father John Rowe, Provincial of the Teresians, was commissioned to proceed to Rome to present it to the Holy Father.

Meanwhile Ormond arrived in Ireland, on the 17th of January, 1649, when the peace was ratified. The terms of it were:

1. The exemption of the Church of Ireland from the oath of Supremacy; and all Penal Laws to be abrogated.

2. The Catholics were to continue in possession of all the cathedral churches and ecclesiastical property at the time in their hands, awaiting the pleasure of the king as expressed in the free assembly of the nation.

3. All monastic establishments, together with the lands belonging to them, to be left for ever in the undisturbed possession of the religious.

4. The free Parliament to be held within six months from the conclusion of the peace.

5. The Catholics to keep in arms a body of 15,000 foot and 25,000 cavalry, and to hold the undisturbed possession of all the cities, towns, and forts, then in their possession, until all the terms should be fully settled by Parliament.

On the return of the Nuncio to Rome he was reprimanded by the Pope and exiled to his diocese, where he soon after died of grief because of the failure of his mission.

Unfortunately, twelve days after the ratification of the treaty, Charles I ended his days on the scaffold, and the Puritans began their fanatical regime. The ill effects of the late dissensions were now brought home to the harassed people in a terrible manner. Within a few weeks their weakened forces suffered a signal defeat at Rathmines, and on the 14th of August, 1649, Oliver

Cromwell landed in Ireland with an army of 10,000 men, and the destructive campaign of the regicides began.

One of the first towns to feel the brunt of his red lust of rage was Drogheda. The spot selected for the initial attack was near the church of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, in honour of whose patronage the parish has ever since been called St. Mary's. After a desperate defence quarter was offered by the Cromwellians and accepted by the heroic defenders. But as soon as the town was in the hands of the " Protector " he issued orders that the life of neither man, woman, nor child should be spared, and the brutal order was executed to the letter by his bible-bearing troops. The church and friary of Our Lady of Mount Carmel were involved in the general ruin, and were razed to the ground. Thus passed one of the last of the original foundations of the Order in Ireland. The extent of the friary can still be traced in the broken walls. The only remains are the walls of a small vestry at the east end of the present building, and the foundations of an old tower about 150 feet distant.

" It is remarkable," wrote Cromwell in his dispatch dealing with the sack of the town, " that these people, at the first, set up the Mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries, and afterwards grew so insolent, that the last Lord's Day before the storm the Protestants were thrust out of the great church called St. Peter's, and they had public Mass there, and in this very place near 1,000 of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety."

Another scene of Cromwell's operations was the old convent of Leighlin-Bridge, which, together with the garrison that occupied it, was surrendered to him.

Once more the breveted butcher of the " tyrannus " had slipped the leash and the unrestrained dogs of war

were free to run down and rend to shreds the faithful Catholic population.

On the 16th of October, 1678, a proclamation was issued commanding all titular archbishops, bishops, and all that exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the Pope, and all Jesuits and other regulars to depart the kingdom by the 20th of November.

The result of this almost unbroken series of religious persecutions is summed up in the report of the titular Bishop of Ossory, dated this same year. He says that in many cases there was but a single priest to attend to five or six parishes, and that the few remaining Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Capuchins in that diocese ministered by stealth and in ruined churches, whilst the Carmelites, Cistercians, and Canons Regular of St. Augustine had completely disappeared. But there were individual Carmelites spread throughout the country, not daring to live in community, scarcely daring to be known to each other, and they were succeeded by others who continued to minister in the face of every danger right up to the time of the lifting of the Penal Laws.

In the beginning of the year 1697 Father T. Dillon, of the princely house of that name, and whose ancestor, the Lord of Drumraney, had founded the abbey of Ardnacranna, returned to Ireland, having been educated and ordained in France. Immediately he began to devote himself to the sick and oppressed flock of Christ in his native Drumraney, where he lay concealed in the house of a farmer near the mill. There was a price on the head, not only of the priest, but of any who should shelter one. But this good farmer, like so many others of his countrymen, did not reckon the cost where the interests of his holy religion, and the life of a heroic priest especially, was concerned. As soon as the presence of the proscribed Carmelite friar became

known to the ever-watchful priest-hunters, they set out upon his track. Being called one night to attend a dying man in Ardnacranna, as he was returning after having administered the Last Sacraments, a spy leaped from his ambush and accosted him: "Dog of a priest, I have discovered you at last; you have returned to preach sedition and murder against the king's loyal subjects; yield in the king's name; you are my prisoner, and I claim the reward for your apprehension. If you run away I shall slip the blood-hound and allow it to tear you to pieces. It is all one how traitors are done away with." In spite of the awful danger the priest, putting his trust in God and Our Lady, fled towards the farmer's friendly shelter. Fortunately, the blood-hound had got entangled in a brake of briars, and its howlings awakened the neighbours and warned them that something—what it was, they suspected—was amiss. The farmer and his household, fearful for the safety of the priest for which they considered themselves responsible, had remained up awaiting his return. They immediately rushed to the succour of the endangered friar, and came up with him just as the informer had caught him up and closed with him. A shot rang out, and the miscreant fell with a bullet through his treacherous heart. He had paid the penalty at the hands of the farmer whose turn would have come next. The incident had so salutary an effect that the priest-hunters henceforth gave Drumraney and the surrounding country a wide berth, and Father Dillon continued to minister there unmolested for many years after.

The Dillons of Drumraney treasure to this day a chalice, a missal, and a set of vestments that belonged to the Carmelites of the Penal times, and which were probably used and left in the care of the family by Father Dillon himself.

Whereas the English Carmelite Province had ceased

to exist the Irish Province had continued in unbroken succession because of the dauntless courage of these latter, who suffered all in order to soothe the hard lot of a crushed people. For a short time Ireland was but a Titular Province, its subjects being in hiding from the mailed fist of a cruel regime. But it was once more raised to the status of a real Province by an Apostolic Diploma granted on the 18th of October, 1737, by Pope Clement XII. In the Bull it is stated that, in the time of Edward IV, or about the year 1303, when Ireland was first erected into a Province, there were thirty-two convents. Therefore, in the General Chapter celebrated in the convent of Santa Maria in Traspontina on the Feast of Pentecost of that year, the Provincial with his two associates had the right to vote for the first time. The Irish convents at this time were : Dublin, Leighlin, Hoartown, Kinsale, Thurles, Ballynahinch, Creveaghbane, Kaltra-ne-Pallice, Ballinsmale, Miltown, Vallis-Malis (not mentioned before), Knockmore, Knocktopher, Castle-Lyons, Kildare, Cloncurry, Kilcormick, Athboy, Ardnacranna, Ardee, Rathmullin, and Loughrea. That is twenty-two convents in all. In this list, Cork, Galway, Frankford, Ballingall, Beleek and Clara are not mentioned. Edinburgh, Scotland, passed to the Irish Province in the year 1765.

In the official report of the Provincial Chapter held at Dublin on the 3rd of May, 1819, Hoartown, Ballynahinch, Creveaghbane, Kaltra-ne-Pallice, Vallis-Malis, Knockmore, Castle-Lyons, Kilcormick, Ardnacranna, Ardee, and Rathmullin are no longer given. On the other hand, Galway is again mentioned, as well as two new foundations, those at Ballinamore and Moate. Strange to say, Creveaghbane is not mentioned either, although it is found in the list of the Chapter of 1823. As there had been no Provincial Chapter between the years 1804 and 1819, we cannot say how

long the house at Ballinamore had been acquired before that date. Moate was founded in 1735, and is still flourishing. By the year 1823 the following additional houses had also been given up: Miltown, Athboy, Thurles, Cloncurry, Loughrea, Galway, and Leighlin-Bridge.

In an official statement as to the condition of the Irish Province, drawn up in the year 1840 by Father John Colgan at the request of Father General Guiseppe Cataldi, the following statistics are given: There were in all but twenty-six priests in the Province, viz., eight in the Dublin Monastery, two in Knocktopher, two in Kinsale, two in Moate, two in Ballinamore, two in Ballinsmale, one in Kildare, his companion having just died, and seven engaged in missions and otherwise. Apparently as a result of this report Ballinamore and Ballinsmale were given up, and with good reason. The report says: "The convent at Ballinsmale is a private house, in a ruinous state, and the church seems to be a stable. The prior, who is advanced in years, seems to be able to do nothing towards improving this state of things. At Ballinamore, the owner of the land is a Methodist and an implacable enemy of the Catholics, and our fathers, having no legal title to their site, have been ejected."

Speaking of the surrender of the other places preceding 1823, he says that at least two of these had been lost through the negligence of the Provincials. But he gives another reason also. On account of the state of the kingdom and the nature of the laws against the religious the priors had become, as it were, proprietors, since religious communities, as such, could possess nothing in law. In the case of Creveaghbane, for instance, the prior, being at death's door and believing that his nephew was about to become a Carmelite, named him as his heir to the convent and all its goods. The young

man then changed his mind, and the convent was lost to the Order. The danger of such a thing recurring in the future had to be provided against, and action to this end was taken in the Provincial Chapter of 1843. After the elections had been completed the President, Father Edward O'Rorke, ordered all to write out their Last Wills and to leave therein all their goods to one or two fathers of the Order, so that, after their deaths, all should be secured to the Order. All immediately complied, and swore in no way to alter these documents without the consent of the Provincial and the Definitors for the time being. The only exception was Dr. Spratt, who refused to take the oath, but yielded in the end to the general opinion and promised to leave all to the Order. He, however, died intestate, with the natural consequence that his valuable antiquarian collection was dispersed. A legal flaw being discovered in the original testaments, it was decreed, at the Chapter of 1849, that the Wills already drawn up were invalid in the eyes of Civil Law, and that new documents should be made out, each accompanied by a letter declaring it to be the intention of the testator to leave all his temporal goods in the custody and for the use of the Order.

Political intrigue, at last, made it necessary to suspend the persecution of the Irish Catholics, and a period of comparative tranquillity followed. As soon as the execution of the Penal Laws was suspended, the Church was resurrected to a new and vigorous life; priests celebrated the Holy Sacrifice publicly; the religious orders resumed possession of their old convents or opened up new ones; and the religious life of the country began to run a normal course.

The first convent and church, if we except the Cornmarket house, to be erected by the Carmelites, was in Ashe Street, Dublin, in a corner of which some few remains were still to be seen up to a few years ago.

This was in 1728, according to the unknown Protestant author of *Roman Catholic Chapels in Dublin* (1749). This authority also states that it was opened by Father Francis Lehy. It was a poor, humble place, in which a little chapel was erected. But the rent was high, the tax-collector inexorable, not more so, however, than the Protestant minister to whom tithes had to be paid. To this must be added the forced substantial contribution to the proselytising foundling hospital, where the souls of poor Catholic children were bartered away, and which an iniquitous law compelled the Catholic population to support. Besides, these friars were unwelcome tenants. Yet they struggled on bravely, how bravely God alone knows. A Confraternity of the Brown Scapular was worked up with untiring energy. The city was first combed for members, then the surrounding country. Father Barry canvassed Crumlin, Clondalkin, and Tallaght; Father Cosgrave took Rathfarnham, Dundrum, and Sandyford, as his vineyard; Father Cassin, later, visited Howth, Baldoyle, and Malahide. The people joined in hundreds. Devotion to Mary had been their mainstay in the days of stress. She had led them, still faithful, out of the Egyptian darkness of their captivity, and they were not unmindful.

Meanwhile the Order was threatened with extinction in Ireland. On the 29th of April, 1762, a petition was addressed to the Definitor Generals of the General Chapter of the Order sitting at Venice : " The extinction of the Carmelite Order in the Kingdom of Ireland being imminent by reason of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, in which it was forbidden to give the habit to novices, or to conduct a novitiate, the undersigned Fathers humbly beseech you, Reverend Fathers, that, in your zeal for the spread of the Order, you think out some means

of helping them, so that their Order may not be extinguished in the said kingdom, by assigning them some convent in a near-by Province overseas, either in France or in Spain, where one or two may each year be admitted to the habit, our Province paying (if your charity cannot arrange it otherwise) all expenses for novices assigned to the Irish Province." A further request was made for exemption for ten years from the tax for the celebration of Provincial Chapters, so that the much-needed money might be used for the support of the novices. The document is signed by Francis Mannin, Provincial; Peter Bermingham, Prior, Dublin; James Burke, Assistant; William Duane, Definitor; William Hosty, Definitor; Edmund Nevin, Definitor. Writing to the General on the 12th of August, 1765, Father Mannin speaks of the Province being exceedingly poor. "Last June I sent two youths with Letters Patent of your Paternity to the Province of Catalonia. The fathers of the convent of Bordeaux demand payment for the two novices sent there, but the Irish Province is too poor to do so. Therefore we pray your help to free us from this intolerable burden by seeing that they be sustained for the love of God." The next year two students from the Province of Toulouse were assigned to Ireland, whilst two other postulants were admitted to the habit in Spain.

By the year 1788 the Carmelite chapel in Ashe Street was famous, and, on the Scapular Feast, the 16th of July, the concourse from the city and the outlying districts was enormous. About this time two very distinguished Irish Carmelites, Fathers O'Mahony and O'Farrell, returned from the Continent and became attached to the Ashe Street house. Their help was very valuable. Blessington, Bray and Balbriggan were now added to the Confraternity districts. So the good work progressed as a result of the self-sacrificing and pioneer

labours of this little band of friars. Then came the rebellion of 1798, with all its sad accompaniments. Ireland was again plunged into mourning. She was overrun by an inconsiderate and brutal soldiery, but this did not deter the Carmelites from traversing the countryside, visiting their "confratres" and "consorores" and consoling them in their great distress. In 1806 the lease of the old house in Ashe Street expired and the Protestant landlord would not renew it. A new home had to be found. Eventually a house was acquired in French Street, now known as Upper Mercer Street, at that time a high class residential district. This was near the site of the old pre-Reformation monastery in Whitefriar Street. A small church was immediately erected in Cuffe Lane. Father Finny was superior, and his chief aim was to continue the good work in regard to the Scapular Confraternity, which was extended to Drogheda, Wexford, and Athy. Each year the various districts were visited, confessions heard, members enrolled, and sermons preached. These visits, which were in reality missions on a small scale, were welcomed by the secular clergy. Yet the community continued to be hampered by the greatest poverty, as is evident from a series of letters from the Provincial, Father Thomas Finny, to the General. On the 19th of July, 1819, he complains that the Province is still in great straits as to where to send its novices; and in May, 1820, he writes to the new General, Father Luigi Mariana Farro: "We are poor and few in numbers, and will soon be fewer, unless we receive immediate help." Still the apostolic spirit was strong in his heart, for, in spite of all his burdens at home, he was ready to add a new and great one from abroad. On the 1st of December, 1822, he writes that the Irish Province consented to open a mission in Malabar to check the growth of proselytising there by

the Bible Society. He recommends to the Propaganda the utility of having the French Street convent used as a college and novitiate for the reception of novices both for Ireland and the East Indies. He engages, in this event, to form a strong committee of Catholics to support the effort, and thus help to stem the Protestant campaign in that country. " What a glorious day would it be," he adds, " when we may once more behold that vast region illuminated by the heavenly fire of the children of Elias. I should die happy were I only to co-operate in the glorious work." This proposition was, however, the occasion of bitter opposition by an influential section of the Order, led by the then Provincial, Father Thomas Coleman, and supported by the Father General. It eventuated in a split, and nothing came of it.

In 1825 Dr. Spratt acquired part of the pre-Reformation site facing Whitefriar Street, and to this place the community removed from No. 12 French Street. On the 25th of October, 1826, the foundation stone of the new church was laid by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, and it was dedicated in November, 1827. George Papworth, Esq., was the architect. A contemporary description of the new building says :

" The arena is two hundred feet in length. It is to be regretted, that want of room prevents it from being more than thirty-four feet in breadth. The front entrance is in Whitefriar-street; and the remainder of the exterior exhibits a neat front, overlooking York Row, with sixteen circular-headed windows placed at intervals of five feet; having ornamental architraves embracing the head of each. Above those windows is a sunken tablet, bearing this inscription :—*Gloriosae Matri et decori Carmeli dedicata.* The summit is finished by a plain cornice, carried over the entrance

front. The entrance is by a flight of steps, retreating into a lofty hall. The building is of common quarry-stone covered with Roman cement.

"The interior presents a beautiful architectural view. The right side of the church, from which the light is emitted, is pierced by windows; and the left is ornamented by corresponding niches filled with statues of eminent saints. The ceiling is coved and divided into rectangular compartments. The interior, just completed, will be peculiarly neat. The whole expense is about £4,000; and proves how much can be done with small means, when taste and judgment are combined."

But it was one thing to build a church in these days and quite another to pay for it. The resultant debt was crushing even in 1840, when Father Colgan sent his report, mentioned above, to the General. Therein we read also: "The convent is an old house, threatens to fall in ruins, and being too restricted to lodge more than five religious the writer was forced as prior to acquire the house next door in order to open a novitiate, and these two houses now form the convent." The novices, however, were not forthcoming. By the beginning of 1850 the number of priests had fallen as low as twenty, including Father Thomas Bennett, Professor of Theology in All Saints, better known as All Hallows, College, to which institution his whole time was given. He, as Provincial, wrote to the Father General on the 20th of October, 1852, informing him that Ballinsmale convent had been given up, since Father Laven, who had lived there alone, had died, and that Tohergan must also be abandoned soon, as Father Hopkins found it impossible to eke out a miserable living there. It ceased to exist in the following year. The church in Whitefriars Street was extensively added to in the years 1856, 1868, and 1891. During this period the frontage of the convent facing Aungier Street had been gradually

added to till it was now very extensive. In the year 1917 Father Joseph McCabe undertook the building of a splendid new convent on this site, as the old convent had become ruinous. The scheme is marked by a wonderful grouping of the new buildings with their striking massiveness, their classic lines, their sense of wondrous light and height and space, and the ensemble is one of the finest in the city of Dublin to-day.

In the church there is a most interesting statue of Our Lady, now set up in a splendid shrine, which is venerated throughout the city. It is carved in Irish oak, is in the Gothic style, and was believed by the antiquarian Petrie to date from the time of Henry VII, and to have been the work of some pupil of Albrecht Durer, if not of the master himself. It is believed by many to be possessed of miraculous properties. Whether there is any reliable foundation for that belief we are not prepared to say. We are only concerned here with the extraordinary story of its vicissitudes, and its all but miraculous preservation.

It was first set up, adorned with a silver crown, of contemporary manufacture, in St. Mary's Abbey, near the present Capel Street, on the North side of Dublin. It is claimed by some authorities that the crown was used in the coronation of Lambert Simnel, which took place in the earliest days of the statue. But Sir James Ware thinks that the crown used on that occasion was taken from an image of Our Lady in the church of Our Lady del Dame, from which Dame Street derives its name. St. Mary's Abbey was granted at the suppression to the Earl of Ormond for the purpose of a stable, and the statue was condemned to be burned. When the iconoclasts had retired the burning image was rescued by the horrified people. To preserve it from any further desecration they carried it to an inn-yard, scooped out the charred back, and placed it there face

downwards. In this position it was long used as a pig-trough. From this ignominious position it was eventually removed, and we next find it in the old church of St. Michan's parish, Mary's Lane, in 1749, probably the first parish church of the Penal Days. The venerable statue was placed at the Epistle side of the High Altar. Petrie tells us that about a century ago the ancient silver crown was sold for its intrinsic value to one Mooney, a silversmith of Capel Street, and Dr. Donnelly says that the statue "found its way in some unaccountable fashion to the ordinary sale shop, and was purchased by Dr. Spratt, who set it up again in all honour in the Carmelite Church, Whitefriars Street, where it may still be seen." Dr. Spratt is still remembered in Dublin for his great work towards social reform, and especially for his great and fruitful labours in the causes of charity and temperance. As an antiquarian his standing may not be doubted, and he gathered together a regular museum of remarkable relics, which were unfortunately dispersed at his death. He acquired the above statue, now popularly known as "Our Lady of Dublin," in 1822. We might mention one other treasure which he greatly prized. The last Bishop of "the Churches in the Mountains" (Glendalough) was "Friar White," who formally surrendered the see to the Archbishop of Dublin in 1497. His crozier was acquired by Dr. Spratt, and was jealously preserved by him.

We must now return to a consideration of the fate of the other Carmelite monasteries spread throughout the country—a sad task, since only a few ruins remain to tell of the Order's one-time greatness.

Of the once famed and beloved Abbey of Knocktopher there are only a few traces. There are the walls of the kitchen, and the old chapel, a double-vaulted square tower, and the holy well known as Trinity Well,

which is concealed beneath the floor of the servants' hall. The ruins are still used as part of the new buildings, at present the residence of the Langrishe family,[1] and known as White Abbey. Two arches of one of the aisles of the church may also be traced, and the position of the old cloisters is plainly marked by a raised platform of lawn on three sides of a square, which is still popularly known as " The Friars' Walk."

Rev. W. Corrigan writes:[2] " For almost a hundred years after 1645, we find no trace whatever of the Carmelites at Knocktopher. Tradition states that, in the penal times, the friars had a convent and chapel in Mrs. Holohan's land in Raliuch, part of Castlecolumb; and that they lived and ministered there for several years, till their removal to Knocktopher village, in Raliuch, in the centre of a field beside the public road. The convent and chapel which they founded at Knocktopher, about 1750, stood in front of the present chapel, in a line with the road; they continued in use for about eighty years."

Among the notable priors of this convent was Father Martin Reynolds, a native of Moate, Co. Westmeath. He was prior in the years 1806-16. He was at one time a Professor in the College of Salamanca, where he numbered amongst his pupils Dr. Marum, afterwards Bishop of Ossory. He is said to have been buried in the same grave with his predecessor, Father Geraghty, who was laid to rest in the old convent chapel.

Father Eugene Cullen was prior from 1832 to 1850. So successfully did he work, and so anxious were the good people of the countryside for the restoration of the Carmelites, that a new convent and church were

[1] In the original Black List of the Members who voted for the Union in 1799 and 1800 we find that the Rt. Hon. Sir H. Langrishe, a Commissioner of Revenue, received £15,000 cash for his patronage at Knocktopher.

[2] *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. iv, p. 26.

built and a considerable amount of land acquired. On the 20th of June, 1843, the church was solemnly consecrated by Dr. O'Connor, Bishop of Saldes. The church and convent stand side by side just across the road from the boundary wall of their ancient property. The convent, which is little more than a two-storied cottage, and from the windows of which White Abbey is seen, is situated not far from the spot, mentioned in the petition to the Nuncio Rinuccini, where the first cottage was built by the Carmelites on their return about 1645. Next it is the little school-room where the friars taught boys intended for the priesthood. Many of the best and most brilliant priests of the diocese of Ossory received their early training there.

The story of the erection of the new church is popular tradition in the countryside. It relates how the then possessor of White Abbey sneered at the prior who was taking thought as to how it might be accomplished, saying that there would never again be a friary church there. On the following Sunday the prior told the people of the taunt, and begged them to give it the lie. The result was that, by that very afternoon, every stone used in the building was carted from the hill of Carrigshock, some miles away, and deposited ready for the works to commence.

When the ruined Abbey was restored, a poor imitation of the thirteenth century architecture, the owners determined to celebrate the event by a ball. The place chosen as the ball-room was the old chapel where the friars had once chanted to the glory of God and the honour of His Holy Mother. The good people, who had ever retained their affection for the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and who still hoped against hope to see them restored to their ancient home, were horrified at the threatened desecration. Besides, for them, some awe-inspiring mystery hung about the

retreat beneath which reposed the mortal remains of the religious. On the occasion of the festivity,—we continue the tradition,—a settled gloom prevailed, for the people felt sure that some awful retribution would overtake those who dared to desecrate the holy place. Just as the ball opened, chanting was heard, friars appeared in the room, and with a look of horror contorting his face, one of the guests, the heir of the owner, fell dead. The older inhabitants related how Thomas White and sixty others had scaled the walls, driven the friars out, and killed some, two centuries before. The story had been handed down from father to son for generations, and the events were easily associated in the minds of the simple peasantry.

We give this narrative for what it is worth. Our principal object in the relation of it is to emphasise the attachment of a whole countryside, persisting through three hundred and sixty years, to the Carmelite friars, whom some biassed chroniclers would have us believe were hard landlords and worse taskmasters. The love of this people has abated nothing of its fervour, and the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel is still one of the great events of the year for them.

Dr. Moran says that " the old Church of Cloncurry, a considerable portion of which remains (1876), lies in an old graveyard in the townland of Cloncurry, where burials still continue. The Irish name is not remembered in this place; but it is clear that it is the district called in the Irish Annals Cluain-Conaire (Conary's lawn or meadow)." Comerford writes: " The ruins of a Church still remain at Cloncurry, but whether it be that of St. Mary and St. Martin, assigned to the Augustinians, in 1210, or that pertaining to the Carmelite friary, founded in 1347, cannot be well ascertained. It is more likely to be the latter, which we find referred to as still existing in 1618.—Vide antea.

This church was some 75 feet in length, by 30 in width; the walls are 3 feet 8 in. Two narrow windows are in the west gable, which terminates in a double belfry. The doorway is in the southern wall. A large mound, probably the site of a fortified residence, stands to the north-west of the ruins. A large plain mausoleum, belonging to the Aylmer family, adjoins the Church."

Of the convent of Athboy Cogan wrote in 1874:[1]

"All that remains of this religious house is a square tower, used at present as the belfry of the Protestant church. The old foundations have been uprooted, and a Protestant church occupies the site. The old baptismal font is octagonal and unornamental. When I visited this churchyard a few years ago, the font was under a waterspout. Not very long since, a fanatical person carried off several loads of human clay and bones for the purpose of manuring his land. The inhabitants of Athboy, fearing the desecration of their ancient pastor, Rev. John Martin, assembled, dug up his grave, and carried off his remains to their new chapel, where they are at present interred. Good God! when will this unchristian, this reckless and audacious insult to the living and the dead, finally terminate? Is it not enough to enjoy the spoil of our plundered Church, the charitable bequests of our Catholic forefathers? Must tithes also be wrung out of the dead bodies of the Irish people?"

Of the convent of Kilcormick he says:

"All traces of the abbey, church, and graveyard of Kilcormick have been barbarously and sacrilegiously swept away.

"The present chapel of Frankford, now about to be succeeded by another erection, was built on a portion of the site of the graveyard of Kilcormick, now called

[1] *The Diocese of Meath*, Note, vol. i, p. 163.

Frankford. Some time in the last century, when this chapel was about being erected, all the skulls and bones in the cemetery were dug up, piled together, and surrounded by a wall. The fragments of mortality were covered with clay, and this mound of the dead can still be seen in the chapel-yard of Frankford, having a figure of the crucifixion on the north side of it. This pagan desecration of the dead—this cruel and heartless (if not impious and sacrilegious) intrusion on a consecrated cemetery, where slept the prince and the peasant, the priest and the monk—where generation after generation of the people, for miles around, went to repose in the silence of the grave—cannot be stigmatized in language sufficiently expressive and condemnatory. If no site could be obtained for a chapel save and except by rudely invading the *graves of our fathers*, by shovelling up the bones of the dear departed, and carting them off as if they were a nuisance or an obstacle—then, better, indeed, have the Holy Sacrifice offered up, as it was oftentimes before, on the mountain-top, in the secluded valley, or by the shady boreen; better, indeed, kneel in the green fields, with the open canopy of heaven above us, and thus patiently await more tolerant times, than, like parricides, to tear open and outrage the tombs of the dead."

The old monastery of the Order is with a delicate taste commemorated in the present presbytery, over which hangs the name " Carmel."

The convent of Ardnacranna was destroyed and the community dispersed during the Cromwellian campaign. Some of the friars immediately fled to the Continent, but others, who would not leave the unfortunate people without the consolations of religion, took refuge in the caves and woods of the country. In some sense the worst period of persecution yet endured was now entered upon. In 1708 the British Parliament

passed an Act depriving Catholics of all civic rights, and in May, 1709, Thomas, Earl of Wharton, being then Lord Lieutenant, with Addison of the *Spectator* as secretary, there was introduced into the House of Commons a "Bill to explain and amend an Act to prevent the further growth of Popery." This was probably the most diabolical law that had yet been introduced. It was known that notwithstanding the previous banishment of archbishops, bishops, etc., there were still men in the kingdom exercising those functions, coming from France and from Spain, and braving the terrible penalties of transportation and death. Therefore this Act assigned stated rewards to informers, which varied according to the dignity of the victim. For securing the arrest of an archbishop, bishop, or vicar-general the informer was to have £50: for discovering any monk or friar, or any secular clergyman not duly registered, £20: and so forth. The trade of "priest-hunting" now became a distinct branch of the informer's profession. For a first offence the accused were transported, for a second they were hanged. The rigorous execution of the Penal Laws was continued to and throughout the reign of George I. "In many places," writes John Mitchel,[1] "chapels were shut up, priests were dragged from their hiding-places, sometimes from the very altars, in the midst of divine service, hurried into the most loathsome dungeons, and thence banished for ever from their native country." The priest-catchers were generally Jews, who pretended to be converts to the Christian religion, and some of them assumed even the character of the priesthood for the purpose of insinuating themselves more readily into the confidence of the clergy.[2]

[1] *History of Ireland*, p. 51.
[2] *Ecclesiast. Hist. of Ireland.* Rev. M. J. Brenan, O.S.F.

In these circumstances the action of the friars of Ardnacranna who remained on, hiding through the day and ministering to the sick and needy by night, was heroic. In the course of time they passed away, but they were succeeded from time to time by other members of the Order, who discharged parochial duties in the various parts of the diocese of Meath.

About the year 1735, some members of the Order returned from Spain, and took up their abode in the neighbourhood of Moate, about three miles from Ardnacranna, where they were sheltered and supported, as had been done in the case of Father Dillon, in spite of the law against the harbouring of priests, for many years by the generous people of Westmeath. When the violence of the persecution was abated a Mr. Potts succeeded in securing the present site of the Carmelites, about the year 1770, from one of the Clibborn family, and here the friars built a chapel. During the fateful insurrection of 1798 the chapel was turned into a barracks to house the British soldiers, and a portion of it was converted into a stables for their horses.[1]

For some time the Moate convent held a conspicuous position among the Carmelite communities. It was for a time the novitiate of the Order in Ireland. The following record was kept of the Priors who ruled here :

Rev. Fr. Hilary. He died Parish Priest of Kilconnell and Aughrim in 1817.

Rev. Fr. Ferry. He died in the archdiocese of Tuam in 1823.

Rev. Thomas Finny, a very distinguished man, was sent to Moate as one of the community on the 25th of November, 1801. He subsequently became Prior, then Provincial, and died in 1833 Parish

[1] These ancient buildings form part of the present school-room.

Priest in the county of Wicklow. He was one of the most celebrated preachers of his day.

Rev. Fr. Prendergast. He was afterwards consecrated Bishop of Malabar.

Rev. Michael Coleman. He died in another convent of the Order in the year 1850.

Rev. Simon McCarthy. He was drowned off the coast of Wales, with many others in the same ship, in the year 1831.

Rev. John O'Flynn became Prior in 1825, and died in 1855.

Rev Fr. Lulam died in 1863.

Rev. Fr. Flood was Prior here from 1860 to 1864.

Rev. Fr. Paul McDonnell was appointed Prior in 1864. and still held that position in 1874. He died there revered in the countryside.

Rev. Fr. John Peter Wheatley succeeded him and continued in charge almost continuously till his lamented death on the 4th of August, 1919, in the eighty-third year of his age. He had also held the position of Master of Novices, and was a most successful missioner. His life was most saintly.

The probable cost of the old convent and chapel, according to Cogan, may have been about £2,000, a remarkable sum for a country church in these days. The dedication of the beautiful new Gothic church was solemnised by the Most Rev. Dr. Whelan, Bishop of Bombay, on the 12th of October, 1868. The erection of the new edifice was essential since, when Father Joseph Flood began the work, the old chapel was tottering to its fall. It was completed by Father Paul McDonnell. The present building is of finely chiselled limestone, and is composed of a nave and two aisles, side chapels and sanctuary. Above the principal

entrance is a tower surmounted by a spire and cross. The whole, which also cost about £2,000, was decorated throughout by the late Father Wheatley, who is buried near-by, and a fine hall, known as "The Father McDonnell Memorial Hall," added to the property.

Before passing from Westmeath we would note one more monument associated with the Carmelite name in that county. Rev. Patrick Malinn succeeded as pastor of Drumraney, in the deanry of Clara, Meath, in 1842. He was born in the neighbourhood, studied at Salamanca, joined the Carmelite Order. Finding himself unsuited to the religious life, he was secularized, and officiated as curate in Drumraney and for some time also in Tang. He died on the 11th of November, 1855, and was buried in the chapel of Drumraney, where a monument commemorates him thus:

Ora pro anima
Rev. Patricii Malin
per 15 annos hujus ecclesiae parochi
qui totis ejus de hoc mundo opibus in usus
pios testamento consecratis et sacris
fideliter susceptis inter amaros gregis
illi commissi dolores obdormivit
in Domino die 11 Novembris, A.D. 1855,
Aetatis suae 66.
Requiescat in pace.

The abbey of Rathmullin is still standing in a fair state of repair, "thus forming," wrote Cardinal Moran, "an exception to the rule of thorough rooting-up which has been pursued, as we have seen with vandal effect, towards the fine old historic ecclesiastical establishments of Tirconnell." It exhibits some fine specimens of pointed Gothic architecture, and over its eastern

window there is a figure of St. Patrick, large and in very good state of preservation. Adjoining the priory are the remains of a strongly-built castle, and in one of its gables a slab is inserted with the armorial bearings of the family of the MacSwines sculptured on it, showing thereby this to be the ancestral castle of that family, once so powerful in these parts, that was responsible for the foundation of the abbey.

After the Penal Days the old abbey of Loughrea was taken over by the Teresians. In consequence of the then dilapidated state of the ancient buildings, a chapel and friary were erected near-by in 1785. There are still extensive remains of the original church in a good state of preservation.

At Leighlin-Bridge the remains of the Black Castle may still be seen. At the south end of the west wall of the quadrangle stood the ancient Carmelite abbey. Lewis says :[1] "An old building with loop-hole windows and a stone doorway are supposed to be the only remaining portion; adjoining it and within the enclosure was a cemetery, now converted into a garden."

When Mervyn Archdall (b. 1723) was writing, part of the ruins of Kinsale Abbey still remained, but they have since disappeared. The present convent and church were begun by Father Lulam and completed by Fathers Parr and Southwell, the whole costing about £5,000.

The new friary of Kildare is on the ancient site, near the ruins of the monastery of St. Bridget. The foundation-stone of the new beautiful church was laid by Father Elias Mary Bartley on the 8th of December, 1884. The church cost about £3,500. Some ancient sculptured stones from the Franciscan monastery are

[1] *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland.*

inserted for preservation in the wall of the Carmelite convent. They are:

1. The upper portion of a human figure under a Gothic canopy, with an archiepiscopal cross.

2. Our Blessed Lord seated, bound with cords and crowned with thorns, the words *Ecce Homo* being at the side of the head. This also has a Gothic canopy overhead.

3. The Crucifixion with figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John on either side and glories around their heads. These figures are disproportionately short. Two other stones display grotesque monsters or demons.

When the Protestant church was erected at Hoartown the materials used were the remains of the ancient abbey. Some slight remains are also to be found at Thurles and Ardee.

The members of the religious communities continued in the nineteenth century to afford their useful missionary co-operation, but the numbers of their convents were now comparatively few. Almost all of their ancient monasteries were in ruins, in Protestant or secular hands. In their churches an alien religion was taught,—the Royal Creed of Henry and Elizabeth.

To-day, in addition to the Carmelite houses in and about Dublin, viz., Whitefriars Street, Terenure College, and Ardavon, there are those at Kildare, Moate, Knocktopher, and Kinsale.

Some of the present generation recall traces of the Penal times which were still to be found when they joined the Irish Province. An inconspicuous black habit was worn which, with the use of the biretta, made the friar scarcely distinguishable from the secular priest, and it is interesting to note the sculptured biretta reposing on a cushion which is one of the details of the monument erected to the memory of Father John O'Flynn in the grounds of the Moate convent. In the

early days of the revival the priests in the Dublin convent led their individual lives with only the semblance of a community bond. But as soon as the times were propitious they were the first of the Orders to return to the regular observance of their rule. The black habit was soon replaced by the proper brown, and the last of those who adhered to the biretta have passed away. When a sufficiency of priests made it practicable, the Irish missionary spirit was resurrected, and the Friars went forth to help to evangelize the new countries that stood sorely in need of their valuable help. From the Irish Province foundations were opened up in America and Australia.

The first convent of the Irish Province in the former country was established in September, 1889, in East 29th Street, New York. Development in this new home was rapid, for these Irish Carmelites were in the midst of their own people, who had been driven from the land of their birth by the persecutions heaped upon them by the zealots of the Protestant Reformation and their more bitter descendants. Soon new convents were opened, and the care of new parishes undertaken. To-day there are flourishing establishments at New York, Middletown, Tarrytown, and Bronx. In 1923 the American houses were erected into a Commisariat with the Very Rev. Denis Finbar O'Connor as the first Commisariat-General. They were now free to work out their own destiny as a separate Province. The able Superior of this new venture was not long spared to give it the benefit of his wide experience, for on the 1st of April, 1924, Fr. O'Connor passed to his reward truly honoured and deeply lamented by all. He was succeeded by Father William O'Farrell.

The Irish friars had been preceded by those of the Dutch Province, who are well established in many splendid houses. These are at Leavenworth (founded

1864) and Scipio (1865), Kansas; St. Cecelia's, Englewood, New Jersey (1869); St. John's, New Baltimore (1870), and Holy Trinity, Pittsburg (1875), both in Pennsylvania; Niagara Falls, Canada (1875), where there is an immense hospital; St. Cyril's College, Chicago, Illinois (1899); and, of later date, Mount Carmel, Tenafly, New Jersey, and Mount Carmel, Garnett, Kansas.

Coming to distant Australia the pioneer fathers, Carr, Byrne, Stone and Shaffrey, under the able leadership of Father Joseph Vincent Butler, D.D., a Carmelite whose fame as a pulpit and platform orator soon spread from end to end of the Commonwealth, settled first at Gawler, South Australia, in the year 1881, where they erected the present fine church. Branching out, they took over the parishes of Port Melbourne (1883) and Port Adelaide (January, 1902). In the former place Father Butler built the splendid priory on Beaconsfield Parade, which is now in possession of the Brigidine Sisters, and also a fine church at Middle Park. As the population increased, it was found necessary to abandon the central position and erect separate priories at Middle Park and Port Melbourne. Later a division of the parish was made by the Most Rev. Dr. Carr, then Archbishop of Melbourne, the part administered by each section of the community constituting a separate parish. By the energy of the priors, backed by the generosity of the people, the present two splendid priories were erected. In addition, the church at Middle Park being now too small to accommodate the vastly increased congregation, a beautiful Romanesque Church was erected on the site of that built by Dr. Butler. For the younger members of the flock a palatial hall that has few peers in the whole Commonwealth was built. In Port Melbourne a like progress necessitated new buildings. With a

true instinct of the needs of a colonial parish Father Scanlan provided a splendid school for the children, which was placed under the care of the Brigidine nuns. The first home of the Carmelites in the Port Adelaide parish was at Semaphore, which was then part of the parish. On the division taking place the fathers went to the present priory, Mount Carmel, Alberton. There Father Cogan erected a "church-school," which was afterwards much enlarged, another being provided in the Woodville district.

That the Irish Province made rapid strides as soon as it was freed from the oppression of the Penal Laws is evidenced by its present strong position in the Order. It has much more than a due proportion among the students at the Carmelite International College of St. Albert in Rome.

For the first time in the history of the Order, the Father General is an Irishman—the Most Rev. Peter Elias Magennis.

In the year 1919 he was elected Prior General, and undertook the government of the entire Order spread throughout the world.

A man of immense energy, he has found time for a multitude of occupations. As Father General, as missioner, writer, and peace-maker, his memory will not easily pass away.

Among his literary works, some of which have been used extensively in compiling this volume, might be mentioned *The Scapular and Some Critics*, *The Scapular Devotion*, *The Sabbatine Privilege of the Scapular*, *Scapulare B.V.M. de Monte Carmelo*, *The Life and Times of the Prophet of Carmel*, besides numberless contributions on religious and secular topics to Reviews and Magazines. All these show a literary taste of a high order, but their chief merit lies in the invaluable research-work dealing with

the history and privileges of the Order which they manifest.

The present writer owes much to his fatherly encouragement. But for him this work would scarcely have been undertaken.

On the 15th of October, 1925, at the General Chapter held in St. Albert's College, Rome, Father Magennis was again chosen to fill the highest office in his Order, for the succeeding six years.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CARMELITES IN SCOTLAND

"That samin tyme, as my author did wret,
The quhit habite of freiris Carmelet
Come first in Scotland, syne efter on cace
In Tulelum wes biggit thair first place
Be ane that tyme wes bischop of Dunkell."
(*Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland*).

Only the most meagre details are to be found in regard to the Scotch Province of the Carmelites. Again, the keeping of records must have been a well-nigh impossible task, in view of the continuous warfare with England, the unsatisfactory condition of the Church generally, the unprecedented degree of State interference, the secular rule of the religious orders, and the consequent sense of insecurity. But whatever hope there might have been of compiling a complete history of this branch of the Order was shattered by the comprehensive destructiveness of the Scotch reformers, whose zeal for the new order and hatred of the old surpassed that even of their English brethren. The religious were in many instances driven out at a moment's notice, as at Aberdeen and Perth, their monasteries with their contents torn down there and then, or given over to the flames. The libraries fared no better than the monasteries, and there was no hope of saving any of the manuscripts. "Then were

destroyed," writes Keith,[1] "volumes of the fathers, councils, and other books of humane learning, with the registers of the church cast into the streets, and afterwards gathered in heaps were consumed with fire." Bishop Russel voiced an universal lament when he wrote: "A proper account of the religious houses of Scotland remains a desideratum in antiquarian literature," and Sir Walter Scott notes the lamentable ignorance in regard to the one-time inhabitants of these: "The traditional recollections concerning the monks themselves are exceedingly faint, contrasted with the beautiful and interesting monuments which they have left behind them. The people can tell nothing but that such a race existed and inhabited the stately ruins of these monasteries. The quiet, slow, and uniform life of the recluse beings glided on, it may be, like a dark and silent stream, fed from unknown sources, and vanishing from the eye without leaving any marked trace of its course."

In all, there would seem to have been no less than twenty-four houses of the Order in Scotland, as Father Manuel Garcia Calahorra testifies. The following list (24) is given in an anonymous manuscript preserved in the archives at St. Albert's College, Rome:

Perth, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Elgin or Moray, Stirling, Dunbland (Perthshire), Dumen or Dunning (Tantallon), Cramond (Aberdeenshire), Brechin, Charie (perhaps Cromarty), Dunroden (Dunrobbin?), Galloway, Ruthven, Evaborden, Dorchedon, St. Andrew's, Linlithgow, Irvine, Banff, Queensferry, and Lismore.

In our own research, which was hurried and far from exhaustive, we found particulars of only thirteen convents, six of which, Tullilum, near Perth, Dunbar,

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1 *History of Affairs in Scotland* (1734). R. Keith.

Aberdeen, Berwick, Linlithgow and Banff, were founded in the thirteenth century; one, Irvine or Irwyn, in the fourteenth century; two, Greenside, near Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, in the sixteenth century; Brechin, in the seventeenth century; and two others, Lufnes and Inverberry, whose dates are doubtful. On the other hand, we are unable to identify many of these with names given in the above list. Besides, there were two convents of Carmelite nuns, one in Edinburgh, St. Mary of Placentia, known as the " Pleasaunce," on the south side of the city near the town wall and gate known as St. Mary's or Pleasaunce Port,[1] the other at Maxwell (Maccus Well).[2]

It will be necessary to a proper understanding of the circumstances under which the Carmelites were founded and lived to review briefly the history of Scotland in the preceding centuries in so far as it affected the life of the Church.

The eleventh century was an evil one from a religious point of view. Secular interference had brought matters to a frightful pass. Abbeys were usurped by the great chieftains, and an hereditary succession to ecclesiastical benefices had resulted in a wholesale secularization, the abrogation of any proper ecclesiastical constitution, and the suspension of normal ecclesiastical government. A great change for the better, however, was effected by the virtuous influence of Margaret Atheling, Queen of Malcolm III, and a great-niece of St. Edward the Confessor, who is still commemorated in the name Queensferry. Through her efforts the moral life of the Church was restored, and its spread immediately became very rapid. The good work thus begun was continued in the twelfth century by Malcolm's sons,

[1] Chalmer's *Caledonia: Ecclesiastical Memorials of Edinburgh* (1848). Daniel Wilson.
[2] *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica* (1842). W. B. Turnbull, D.D.

Alexander I and the saintly David, as also by David's equally pious grandson, Malcolm the Maiden. During these reigns some of the greatest of the abbeys were founded. But the last-named prince was weak as a ruler, and the masterful King of England, Henry II, improved the opportunity by wresting from him a considerable portion of his southern possessions. He was succeeded by William the Lion, during whose long reign of fifty years the Church was continually harassed by Henry's relentless efforts to bring it into subjection to the ecclesiastical authorities in England. The see of York, relying on the strength and support of the Anglo-Norman influence there, had always assumed to include within its province the whole of Scotland, and, till the close of the twelfth century, the archbishops of York consecrated the Scottish bishops. The Church in Scotland had, however, with a like determination, consistently insisted on its independence of English control. In the year 1188 Clement III declared the nine Scottish sees to be immediately subject to the Pope.

The thirteenth century was made memorable by the reigns of the two Alexanders, and is spoken of as the golden age in Scotland's history. Many new and important monastic foundations were made, whilst the Mendicant Orders were introduced, the Dominicans and Franciscans by Alexander II, and the Carmelites by Alexander III.

The first foundation, as mentioned in the lines of a contemporary writer which head this chapter, was at TULLILUM, outside the walls of Perth. It was called St. Mary's. This took place in the October of the year 1260. John Major wrongly assigns it to 1262. It would seem that the founder was Richard Inverkeithing, Bishop of Dunkeld, who built the chapel, the west end of which was rebuilt by Bishop Brown, and included seven galleries of hewn stone. Yet it was small in com-

parison with that of the Blackfriars. Another authority, however, assigns it to "an Englishman Knecht, Hollat of St. Johnstoun";[1] whilst a third mentions Thomas Leicht as the founder. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy writes:[2] "Very little is known of this writer (*i.e.*, Leicht), except that he introduced the Carmelite Order into Scotland, and founded a monastery near Perth. He wrote a tract, 'Pro rege Alexandro ad Papam,' and another entitled, 'De Immunitate Ecclesiastica.'" He adds that "he is said to have died about the year 1231." This last statement is either incorrect or else Leicht had nothing to do with the introduction of the Carmelites, since the English Province from which the Scotch had its foundation only came into being in 1240.

The diocesan synods were held and the records of Dunkeld were kept here till the episcopate of Lauder, for fear of the "Caterans or Highland knaves." Differences having arisen between Robert Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, and William Blackburn, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, the matter was tried before an ecclesiastical judge-delegate in the parish church of St. Andrew's, as a result of which the bishop was excommunicated. The sentence was promulgated during the celebration of Mass on the 25th of March, 1393, in the Carmelite Church of Tullilum.

At the General Synod held at Perth in the year 1441 an order was issued[3] for the support of St. Ninian's altar in the church of the Carmelites.

Samuel Cowan gives an interesting reproduction of a very early plan of Perth and its immediate surroundings, from which the sites of the houses of the various religious orders may be learned.[4] He also gives

[1] *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, No. 1381.
[2] Calendar of MSS. relating to the History of Scotland.
[3] *Cf.* Gilbert Deidonatus.
[4] The Ancient Capital of Scotland.

enlarged drawings of the monasteries themselves. Of these he writes: "From a pre-Reformation picture of Perth we are able to give with some accuracy a drawing of the ancient town, including the monasteries. . . . . We have employed an artist to redraw and engrave the monastic buildings. . . . . We do not guarantee absolute accuracy; our sole aim is to convey some idea of the general appearance of the edifices, their situation outside the walls, and styles of architecture." From this drawing we conclude that the Carmelite monastery was small compared with some of the other monasteries, and was yet of considerable proportions. It would seem to have been in the early Gothic style.

The following notices are found among the Charters of the Perth monastery:

7 May, 1361.—David II confirmed the donations which his predecessors and others had granted to the Carmelite Friars within the kingdom.

4 May, 1427.—William de Wynd granted to the Carmelites an annual rent of 13*s*. 4*d*. out of his lands in the south end of Speygate for the saftey of his soul and that of his wife, the Friars annually observing the anniversary of the donors on the day of their decease, and on that day celebrating Mass.

1432.—Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, with the consent of his son Celestian Campbell, granted to the Carmelites 13*s* 4*d*. out of his lands in Port of Menteith for the salvation of his soul, and the souls of his wife and children, of his predecessors and successors, and all the faithful dead.

16 April, 1436.—Andrew Love, goldsmith, Perth, granted to the Carmelites 5*s*. 4*d*. out of four strips of land out of his croft near the Fuller's Mill of Perth for a Mass of repose to be sung yearly.

6 June, 1471.—Andrew Charteris of Perth alienated to the Carmelites for a certain sum of money which the

Prior and Convent in his great necessity had delivered and paid to him in well-told money, the sum of 50*s.* out of Laurence Dryden's tenement on the east side Kirkgate; the sum of 13*s.* 4*d.* out of the lands of Andrew Cowper, also on the east side of the same street; and the sum of 13*s.* 4*d.* out of James Fotheringham's tenement in Meal Vennel.

12 October, 1484.—David Todd, Perth, signed an indenture with John Walsh, Prior of the Carmelites, that he would pay 4½ marks to the Carmelites annually out of a tenement in South Street.

9 November, 1494.—John Kinglassie of Unthank, for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his wife and children, predecessors and successors, grants to the Carmelites 13*s.* 4*d.* annually to be levied out of his tenement without the port of the Turret Bridge at the west end of the burgh.

We find, furthermore, regular payments made out of the fermes of Perth to this house, ranging over the years 1329-1535.

The convent of DUNBAR was founded by Patrick, Earl of March, in 1263.

The next establishment would seem to have been at ABERDEEN, the foundation being made by Philip Arbuthnot about the middle of the thirteenth century. The convent and church, which were dedicated to SS. Mary and John, were situated on the south side of the Green. The Dominicans had been the first to arrive here; the Carmelites, the second.

This foundation was confirmed by a Bull of Pope John XXII, dated the 1st of December, 1327. King David II, by a charter, signed at Aberdeen, on the 7th of May in the thirty-first year of his reign, confirmed the following grants and donations which had been made to the Order in that place:

1. A charter of King Robert Bruce allowing to them an annuity of ten marks, from the fee farms of the borough, dated at Berwick-upon-Tweed, the 1st of November, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

2. A charter dated "die Jovis in hebdomada Pentecostes," 1285, granted by Laurence de Dalvis and the brethren of the Order of the Trinity at Aberdeen, confirming a grant made by their Order to the Carmelites, in the year 1273, at their chief convent "apud fontem Scotiae," of a piece of ground in the Green, called Maderyard, in exchange for another piece of ground in the town.

By another charter dated the 5th of April, in the 35th year of his reign, King David also confirmed a donation which had been made to the Carmelites by Alexander Constable, son and heir of Roger Constable, burghers, on the 14th of May, 1350, of an annuity of four marks . . . . for purchasing wax and wine, to be used at the celebration of a Mass of requiem for the souls of himself, his father and mother, and of his predecessors and successors. He also confirmed a perpetual annuity which had been granted to the friars on the 15th of April, 1355, by Philip Arbuthnot (the founder), of 13*s.* 4*d.* for defraying the charge of repairing the church.

There were many other similar grants to this house, besides the customary annuities out of the fermes and petty customs of the various burghs.

"Although these friars were mendicants," writes William Kennedy,[1] "yet they seem to have been eminent for scholastic learning, which was cultivated at the time; for, in the year 1303, when King Edward I was in Aberdeen, he was graciously pleased to send four of this Order, under his protection, to England,

[1] *Annals of Aberdeen*, lib. ii, p. 1818.

and procured the degrees of doctor of divinity, to be conferred upon them in Balliol College of Oxford."

The convent of LINLITHGOW was founded in the year 1290 by the burgesses. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and stood on rising ground to the south of the town, the site being marked by the names of Friars' Well and Braes, which are still in use. In 1461 the Carmelites were confirmed in possession of the eight acres of land which they occupied, by way of Queen Mary's alms to them.

The convent of BERWICK was founded in the reign of Alexander III. We have been unable to ascertain the exact date of the foundation, but it must have been shortly after the first coming of the Order to Scotland. We find letters of protection for two years being issued on the 20th of January and the 3rd of November, 1292, for the Prior of Carmel in Berwick-upon-Tweed, who is about to depart, by licence of the king, for Ireland, on affairs connected with his church. In August this convent submitted to Edward I, and obtained his protection.

In the Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland we find the following notice, under date the 17th of November, 1317: "The King (Edward II), on account of the eminent devoutness of the friars of the Order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel of Berwick-upon-Tweed, grants their petition to serve his chapel in the castle there as heretofore, receiving from the Chamberlain of Scotland the same stipend as the secular chaplains who used to serve it."

After Edward acquired this town as the fruit of his victory in 1333 he removed the Scottish Carmelites and replaced them with English friars, so determined was he to secure his conquest.

The convent of BANFF was founded before the fourteenth century, and was dedicated to St. Mary.

That the Carmelites were not long in getting a secure footing and taking an important place in the religious life of Scotland is evident. In the year 1296-7 we find Friar Robert de Mar, a Scotchman, being sent to the king of England as ambassador of Lord Hugh de Cressingham, treasurer of Scotland, the expenses of his return journey from Forde being paid out of the Wardrobe accounts of Edward I.[1] On the 7th of January, 1299, Adam, Abbot of the monastery of Holyrood in Edinburgh, together with his entire community, " have sworn on the *Corpus Christi* in their Chapter, before Sir John de Kingston, Keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh, and Friar William of the Order of the Carmelites, to be true liegemen to the king of England, and said Sir John, and his other servants in Scotland."

The year 1275 is remarkable in the history of the Scottish State. In that year an ecclesiastic, who is called Bagimont in the history and law of Scotland, but whose real name, according to Chalmers, was Bayamond, came from the Pope to collect the tenth of all the benefices in North-Britain for the relief of the Holy Land. He held an ecclesiastical council at Perth at which the entire clergy, with the exception of the Cistercians, agreed to pay the tenth of their benefices upon oath and under the terms of excommunication. The *Auld Taxation of Bagimont*, as it is called, is often referred to by the Scottish Statutes as an adequate measure of the true value of the ecclesiastical benefices. Only one copy of this most important work, *Bagimont's Roll*, remains. It is to be found in Bisset's MS., *Rollment of Courts*. The document had been lost and was discovered, writes Bisset, by " Dene John Christieson, the principle of the Carmelite Order

[1] Fol. 7, British Museum, Addit. MSS., No. 7965.

at Aberdene," and was copied by "ane chaplane of Auld Aberdene, called Doctor Rousse," probably a Carmelite also. Since John Christieson was prior of Aberdeen between the years 1542-45, the discovery must have been made about this time.

Peace having been concluded between William the Lion and Richard Coeur de Lion over a crusading matter, Scotland enjoyed a term of peace till the year 1294, when Edward I began his vandalic war of invasion, in the course of which many famous abbeys were razed to the ground and aged monks slain at the altar. This catastrophe was followed by the interference of Edward's son with the canonical elections and consecrations of bishops and the adoption of the tithes of the Scottish sees by the suffragans of English bishops. In 1314 Robert Bruce utterly routed the English forces at Bannockburn, and thus secured the independence of his country. He gave the cloths of gold and silver, rent from the pavilions of Edward II, to the various abbeys, where they were converted into vestments for the use of the clergy and as frontals for the altars. Bruce was succeeded by his son, David II, who continued the war against Edward III, and the Church had again to suffer from this continuous strife. The hatred between the two countries spread even to the clergy and the religious orders, who were less pleased than ever with the interference of Englishmen in the conduct of the Church in Scotland. William Wallace, in the war of independence, had given proof of his comprehensive hatred of his country's hereditary enemy by expelling every beneficed Englishman from Scotland. The lesson was not lost on the Scotch Carmelites, who determined to manage their own monasteries without the aid of expatriates from over the border. A strong movement was set on foot for the complete severance of the Scottish houses from the

English Province, and, in the year 1324, their efforts were so far successful that, at the General Chapter in which Father John de Alerio was re-elected General, Scotland was raised to the status of a separate Province, the thirteenth of the Order in Europe. This date must be emphasised in view of the confusing language of certain documents. Thus, in the Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, we find a letter from the king of England, dated the 13th of April, 1305 (No. 1661), addressed, amongst others, to the prior provincial of the Order of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel in Scotland, begging prayers and Masses for the soul of Johanna, late Queen Consort of France, " as it is a holy and a wholesome work to pray that the dead may be loosed from the yoke of sin."

The convent of IRVINE (or Irwin), in the parish of Dundonald, was founded by the Laird of Fullarton, and was dedicated to St. Mary, in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

On the 24th of August, 1399, Reynauld Fullerton entered into a contract with the provincial and brethren of the Carmelite Friars of Irvine, by which he engaged to pay " forty marks for melwrating and upholding the houses of the said convent, and for repairing the principal church and cloister, whilst the friars engaged to pray weekly, in all time coming, on the Lord's Day or any other feast day in the beginning of a Mass, at the great altar, with an audible voice, for the souls of Sir Adam Fullerton and Marjorie his wife and for Reynauld Fullerton and Elizabeth his wife, and their heirs and successors, and for the souls of all the faithful deceased." [1]

This grant was confirmed by a charter of Robert III.

The convent of QUEENSFERRY, in the arch-

[1] Chalmer's *Caledonia* (New Edition), vol. 6, p. 493.

diocese of St. Andrew's and Edinburgh, was founded in 1330 by the Laird of Dundas. Queensferry is situated on the Firth of Forth, on the south side facing Dunfermline. It was also known as St. Margaret's Ferry ("Passagii Sancte Margarite regine"), to commemorate the carrying of the relics of Queen Margaret, the saintly wife of Malcolm III, from Edinburgh Castle through a secret postern here in the midst of her enemies, the cortege being veiled by a miraculous cloud.

Payments were made to this house out of the issues of Ettrick Forest in the years 1480-1514, and from the fermes of the ward of Yarrow in 1499-1507.

Lufnes, Inverberry, and a convent of which we find only a single mention, St. Johnstoun, were in existence about the middle of the fourteenth century. There is extant a charter from the White Friars of ST. JOHNSTOUN to the White Friars of Lufnes, and to the rest of that Order. It is dated the 7th of May, 1361. The originals are preserved in the library of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and among the Hospital Charters of Perth.

The convent of LUFNES was situated in the parish of Aberlady. We learn further of its existence in connection with a grant of wheat in the year 1490 from Ballincreif, Edinburgh. The grant was confirmed by David II.[1]

The convent of INVERBERRY was in the county of Kincardine. The friars of this house also held the churches of Kingussie and Dunottar.[2]

James I, on his return from his twenty years' captivity in England, showed at once a keen interest in the confused affairs of the Church, which he proceeded to set in order. He set on foot a strict inquisition into the spread of Lollardism and other

[1] Chalmer's *Caledonia* (New Edition), vol. 6, p. 493.
[2] Jervis' *Angus*, p. 441.

heretical teachings, with the result that an Act of Parliament was passed in 1425 condemning the heresiarchs. At the same time he urged the various religious orders to see to the stricter observance of their Rule and discipline. James II followed his father's lead in religious matters. Then came James III and the abuses which characterise his reign. The monasteries were deprived of the right of electing their own superiors, and laymen were often appointed to these positions, these being known as " commendatory abbots." The cathedral and monastic bodies were deprived of their canonical rights, and undesirable persons, even boys, were nominated to sees, as in the cases of a brother and natural son of James IV successively (1497-1513) to the primatial see. The latter was only sixteen at the time of his nomination.

The convent of ROXBURGH (Jedburgh) was founded by the citizens themselves in the year 1513.

As to the first settling of the Carmelites in Edinburgh there is some doubt. There would seem to have been some members of the Order in that city as early as the year 1299, since we find that, on the 7th of January of that year, Friar William witnessed the oath of allegiance to the king of England made by the Abbot Adam and his community, whilst a memorial, dated the 28th of February, 1300, mentions two Carmelites as residing in Edinburgh Castle in the service of Edward I.[1] Again, in the Wardrobe accounts of Edward I, under date 1301, we find benefices granted to Friars William de Coppegrave and William Juvenis, resident in the Castle of Edinburgh as confessors to the garrison.[2]

Whether they had a residence outside the castle at this date is not clear. From all the customary sources, the above documents excepted, it would seem that the

[1] Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, No. 1132.
[2] Fol. 23, b., London, 27th Feb.

first real foundation was at GREENSIDE, near Edinburgh, which was known as Holy Cross, and was situated at the foot of the Carlton Hill on the western side. Chalmers, for instance, says that " the Carmelites or White Friars, who were introduced into Scotland in 1260, acquired an establishment at Edinburgh under James V. John Malcolm, the provincial of the Order, obtained from the magistrates the lands of Greenside, at the foot of the Carlton, with the church of the Holyrood at this place, for the purpose of establishing a convent; and the grant was confirmed on the 13th of April, 1518. Here a colony of Carmelites settled."

The Edinburgh convent was thus nearly the last of the religious foundations prior to the Reformation.

The wording of the deed of conveyance on the part of the Provost James, Earl of Arran, and the bailies is: " To Jo. Malcolme, provincial of the Carmelites, and his successors, yr lands of Green-side, with the chapell or kirk of the Holy Cross yrof." From this and the context it is evident that a chapel existed there in ancient times of which no record has been preserved, and adjoining it was a cross called the Rood of Greenside. This may have been served by the Carmelites who were resident at the castle. The rood here referred to was the spot where the heresiarchs, David Stratoun and Norman Gourlay, who were tried at Holyrood House in the presence of James V, were put to death by hanging and burning on the 27th of August, 1534. Tradition also marks this as the scene of the burning of Major Weir.

That Greenside was founded from Queensferry is evident from a confirmation, dated December, 1520, of the above grant, wherein it is stated that the Provost, Robert Logan of Coatfield, the Bailies and Council, again conferred the ground and place of " the Greensyde to the Freris Carmelitis, now beand in

the Ferry, for their reparation and bigging to be maid."

Sir Thomas Cannye was constituted chaplain thereof, and we read that in October, 1525, Sir Thomas, "chaplain of the place and kirk of the Rood of Greenside," got "seisin thairof be the guid town," and delivered the keys into the hands of the magistrates in favour of Friar John Malcolmson, "pro mareral of the ordour."

Daniel Wilson writes:[1]

"The following curious fact, relating to the monastery of the Carmelite Friars, founded at Greenside . . . . is appended in the form of a note to the description of this monastic order, in the third part of *Lectures on Religious Antiquities of Edinburgh* by a member of the Holy Guild of St. Joseph (p. 129), and is stated, we have reason to believe, on the authority of a well-known Scottish antiquary: 'The humble brother of our Holy Guild who is now engaged in an endeavour to form a *Monasticon Scoticanum*, informs me, on undoubted authority, that the succession of the Priors of Greenside is still perpetuated in the Carmelite Convent at Rome, and his informant has seen the friar who bore the title of Il Padre Priore di Greenside.'" This statement is repeated by James Grant in his *Old and New Edinburgh* (1882).[2]

However this may have been at the time of the writing of the above document it is not so now-a-days.

With regard to the convents of nuns already mentioned we have been unable to discover anything beyond the mere mention of them. Walcott[3] mentions both, as also does Chalmers,[4] and the Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica.[5]

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[1] *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time.* Daniel Wilson, F.R.S.S.A.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 101-2.
[3] *Scoti-Monasticon.*
[4] *Caledonia*, ii, 761; Arnot, 252; Wilson, ii, 93.
[5] P. xi.

James V, the father of Mary Stuart, adhered unflinchingly to the old Faith in spite of every inducement to join the Reformation. On the other hand, he continued the already established system of "commendatory abbots," and provided for his illegitimate children by making them abbots and priors of Holyrood House, Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham, and St. Andrews. These commendatory abbots and priors received the income, but did not, as a rule, interfere with the domestic economy of the monastery. "Though they seldom took orders, they ranked as clergymen, and by their vices continued to throw an odium on the profession. They became, however, converts to the new doctrines; and thus contrived to secure the lands of their benefices, or an equivalent, to themselves, and their posterity." James had the title of "Defender of the Faith" conferred on him by the Pope because of his efforts to extirpate Lutheranism in his dominions. This honour was bitterly resented by his uncle, Henry VIII, the one-time "Defender," who was now working might and main to destroy every vestige of the Catholic Faith in England. Besides, having broken with the Church, and hoping yet to win over his nephew to his ideas, he had proposed that they should have an interview at York. He awaited his coming for six days, but James never came. A rupture between the two kingdoms was the result. Henry thereupon declared open hostilities and carried the war into James's territory, with what awful consequences will be seen when we come to write of the Scottish Reformation. Another cause served to add fuel to the fire. For a considerable time, especially in Cardinal Beaton's ascendancy, the highest offices in the State and Court, those of Chief Adviser, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy Seal, had been held by churchmen. The chief nobles were bitter at what they considered an

usurpation of their rights, and their revolt had eventuated in their being banished or imprisoned. On the death of James the nobles came into power once more, and their " lust for revenge and spoil, sealed the fate of the religious houses." [1] The war between the Church and the heresiarchs blazed forth. The Reformation was afoot, and the usual vandalism and cruelty followed in its train. Cardinal Beaton, the deadliest enemy of Henry VIII, was foully and abominably assassinated in his own palace on the 29th of May, 1564, by the Protestant party, with the connivance of Henry. As in England and Ireland, the monasteries and religious houses were suppressed, laid in ruins, converted to secular uses, or turned over to the reformers.

[1] *Scoti-Monasticon*, Walcott.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CARMELITES IN SCOTLAND
(The Reformation)

" Ruin, decay, and ancient stillness, all
Dispose to judgment temperate as we lay
On our past selves in life's declining day.
Perversely curious, then, for hidden ill
Why should we break Time's charitable seals?
Once ye were holy, ye are holy still;
Your spirit let me freely drink, and live."

Walcott writes :[1]

" The storm came from the south. In 1523 an English army made havoc of Jedburgh. In 1544 Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, Leith, Coldingham, Dunbar, Jedburgh, Eccles, Newbotle, Holyrood, and Haddington [2] were burned by them. In August of the preceeding year high mass had been sung with sackbut and shawn in Holyrood; but on September 4, Henry's agents caused the Dominican and Franciscan priories at Dundee to be destroyed, although Lord William Parr, who abetted the sacrilege, was fain to do penance in the Grey Friars, Stirling, and swear to defend all monks and friars from violence. The Abbey of Lindores was sacked by a company of ' good Christians,' as they called themselves, who charitably turned the monks out of doors : yet at Edinburgh a crowd of men and women, ' wild and in a fury,' drove clean out of the town a captain of the foot band who in the absence of the governor attacked the Dominican Friary. In

[1] *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 12.
[2] All famous abbeys.

his impious rage against the Church, which the Scottish bishops had provoked by scorn and mockery of the English ambassador, and in his hate of St. Thomas and his living foe, Cardinal Bethune, Henry desired Arbroath to be destroyed, and the whole of St. Andrew's to be left without one stone upon another, or one living creature to tell the tale. His designs on the liberties of Scotland were of early standing, for in a letter written to the pope after the fatal day of Flodden, on October 12, 1512, he desired that St. Andrew's might be reduced to the position of a suffragan of York, and his acquiescence sought in the future nomination of bishops. England, under its arbitrary master, attempted the vain project of crushing the spirit of Scotland, yet succeeded in intensifying and fomenting the changes within the Church."

The Reformation, in a sense, began in Scotland, with the preaching of John Knox. This zealot was ordained to the priesthood about the year 1530, the same year in which the fallen Wolsey died at Leicester Abbey, having addressed his memorable arraignment of Henry VIII to the lieutenant of the Tower: "Master Kyngston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." Nothing is known of Knox's ecclesiastical career, but he had probably adopted the principles of the Reformation by 1540. In 1545 he published his *History of the Reformation*, which is in the main autobiographical. Herein he refers to himself before his degradation from the priestly office as "one of Baal's shaven sort." He was the most devoted disciple of George Wishart, the most prominent exponent of the new doctrines in Scotland, and was, with his master, involved in the intrigues of the

Protestant party for the kidnapping or murder of Cardinal Beaton, the first champion of the Catholic cause. When Beaton was assassinated on the 29th of May, 1546, in revenge for the burning of Wishart at St. Andrew's on the 1st of March, Knox openly delighted in the villainous act. He was, in consequence, forced to seek refuge with the murderers in the castle of St. Andrews, which was surrendered on the 31st of July, 1547, when Knox was imprisoned for nineteen months on board the French galleys and at Rouen. On his liberation he feared to return home to Scotland, but sought safety in England, whence he was forced, in 1554, to flee to Dieppe. Thence he went to Genoa to consult with Calvin. His return to his native country in 1555 gave a new impulse to the flagging energies of the reformers, of whom he soon became the acknowledged leader. Fear of vengeance sent him shortly after flying back to Geneva, from which retreat he urged on his disciples, who, wherever the opportunity offered, "abolished the worship established by law, expelled the clergy, dissolved the monasteries, and gave the ornaments of the churches, often the churches themselves, to the flames." [1]

In May, 1558, deeming it safe enough to return home once again, although Elizabeth refused him a licence to travel through her dominions, Knox arrived at Perth. The queen had summoned three of the reformers before her and the Council at Stirling. When Knox heard of it he entered the pulpit of St. John's church and preached a series of inflammatory sermons. The crowd was maddened by his invectives against what he was pleased to style the idolatory of the Mass. Immediately on the conclusion of the discourse a priest prepared to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice as an

[1] *History of England*, Lingard.

answer to the heresiarch. This daring action was the light to the torch. The mob attacked the church of St. John, demolished the magnificent fabric of the Charterhouse, and then proceeded to a general destruction of all the churches and religious houses of the city. The altars were overturned, the pictures rent, the images broken, and the monasteries almost levelled to the ground. Like the Charterhouse, the convents of the Franciscans and Dominicans at Tullilum were utterly ruined. According to one account, the mob was about to tear down the Carmelite friary to the westward of Perth, but the building was saved by the intervention of Lord Ruthven. On the other hand, Walcott, following Leslie and Balfour, two weighty authorities, says this house also was utterly destroyed. "In 1558," he writes, "the sectaries destroyed the college of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, and the manses of the prebendaries, to preclude any hope of return; and the plunder of other churches they gave to soldiers. The ministers from Germany and Geneva had arrived 'to extirpate popery and expel the French.' Historic Scone was also destroyed utterly; and the altars of Sterling and Linlithgow were laid low.[1] Besides destroying Tullilum, the Black and Grey Friars, they had demolished a church of exquisite beauty, the Charterhouse of St. John's Town, as Perth was then called, setting fire to the altars, spoiling the ornaments, profaning all that was holy, tearing up even the stones of the foundations and the trees of the orchard, that no trace of such a magnificent church and splendid place might remain: and the Carmelites' house shared the same fate; for Knox, already guilty of treason to his queen, stayed at no impiety towards the houses of the King of kings, exhorting the people, with a barbaric and senseless

[1] The Carmelite convent of Linlithgow was probably destroyed on this occasion.

'deformation,' to hack down ministers and obliterate all that was venerable and ancient." The buildings of the Carmelite convent at Tullilum, Perth, which had fallen into disrepair about the end of the preceding century, had, quite recently, been partly rebuilt and partly repaired. The Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, hastily assembling troops, marched towards the town. But the nobles joined themselves to the Congregation to oppose her. A treaty was signed, but within a few days war again broke out. The lords of the Congregation mustered in great force. Perth, Sterling, and Linlithgow, fell into their hands. Alexander Young was the last prior of the Perth convent. It would appear that he joined the Reformation movement, and became minister of Tibbermore. He was alive in 1593, when John Young was minister of Methven, and was allowed a pension of £20 by the Rev. John Rowe and the kirk session, out of the sequestred revenues of the monastery.

The inhabitants of Aberdeen were informed on the 29th of December, 1559, by Thomas Menzies, their provost, that certain "Mearns men and Angus men" intended to be in the town that day to destroy and cast down the churches and religious houses "under colour and pretence of godlie reformatione." He proceeded to describe this proposed action as one of treason, and called on the people to resist it. On their arrival the spoilers attempted to destroy the spire of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, but were foiled by the citizens flying to arms. On the 4th of January, however, the monasteries of the Dominicans on School Hill and of the Carmelites on the Green were despoiled and entirely demolished, the lead stripped from the church of the Grey Friars, and the Cathedral robbed of its treasures. The ruin of the other religious houses was only prevented by the intervention of some retainers of the Earl of Huntley, Laird of Balquhain, who were also responsible for

saving the stately cathedral of Old Aberdeen. The earl's intervention was not altogether a disinterested act, since we find him, in June, 1567, sharing to a considerable extent in the spoils.

The whole property, possessions, and annuities, which had pertained to the Carmelite monastery of Aberdeen, reverted to the Crown. Thus the lands of Glensauche were confiscated for £7 10s. on the 28th of August, 1571. The buildings and crofts of land were afterwards acquired by the Earl Marshal, who by his charter of foundation of the college of Aberdeen, transferred them to the members of that institution, as part of a permanent provision. Carmelite Street, and the buildings in the line of it, now occupy the site of the monastery, barn, and garden, of the friars.

A few remains of the cellarage of the Banff friary were still to be seen as late as 1874. The possessions of this house were also annexed to Aberdeen College, in the year 1617, by James VI.

Nothing remains of the convent or churches of Inverberry, but the Friars' Dubb marks part of the site, and the inn on the high ground near the bridge replaces the offices.

The sudden success of the Reformation in Scotland was due in the main to one cause. For more than a hundred and fifty years there had been a bitter antagonism between the nobles and the Church. It was embittered by the scandalous system of commendatory abbots. The nobles led this final assault. In 1560 the Scotch Parliament passed two laws. By the first, every previous statute in favour of the Church was repealed. By the second, it was declared that to say Mass, or to be present at it, was a crime punishable, for the first offence, with the loss of one's goods; for the second, with exile for life; for the third, with death.

Having overthrown the old Church, the nobles seized

on its property as their right. But this did not suit the views of the Protestant preachers, who had hoped for it for themselves. A contemptible wrangle now followed between the lords on the one hand, and Knox and his adherents on the other. The former "viewed the Protestant preachers as low-born individuals, not far raised above the condition of mechanics or tradesmen, without influence, authority, or importance,"[1] and they had no intention of sharing the spoils with such.

In the First Book of Discipline, drawn up by Knox and his five associates, and presented to the Privy Council, the reformers claimed that all the revenues of the old Church should be transferred immediately to the new Protestant clergy, but their covetousness was frustrated. On the 22nd of December, 1561, a general Convocation of the Estates was held in Edinburgh at which the Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, and Ross, for themselves in the first place, but virtually also for all the Catholic clergy, offered a surrender to the Crown of one-fourth of the revenues of their benefices, on condition that they should be allowed to retain the remaining three-fourths in sure and guaranteed possession. At a meeting of the Council on the 15th of February, however, it was ordained that the proportion of rents and revenues to be confiscated to the Crown, and for the sustentation of the Protestant clergy, should be one-third of the whole, the other two-thirds to be left to "the auld possessouris" during their lives, after which they should revert to the Crown. This arrangement explains the constant recurrence in the Reformation and State Documents of the time to "the Thirds." It was stigmatized by Knox as "Two-thirds to the Devil, and one-third between God and the Devil."

[1] Lawson's *Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 251.

It was, however, the merest fiction contrived with considerable art. The Catholics were now entirely in the hands of the government. The government was the nobles. The conclusion is evident.

"The remaining two-thirds," writes Buchanan,[1] "were gravely assigned to the Catholic priesthood, who, at that very moment, were liable, by Act of Parliament, to the penalty of death, if they performed the rights of their religion. Men, whose lives were in the hands of the government, were not likely to quarrel with the government about money matters; and the result was, that nearly everything fell into the possession of the nobles."

The convents of the Mendicants still undemolished were to be used for hospitals, school buildings, and other purposes, and to these ends were to be taken over by the corporations of the burghs in which they were situated.

The last prior of the Carmelites at Irvine, R. Burn, foreseeing the approaching storm, had alienated the lands called "Friars' Croft" to the Fullerton family, by whom the convent had been founded. But on the 8th of June, 1572, the houses, property, and revenues of the convent at Irvine, "with the property of all chapels, chaplainries, altarages, prebends, or colleges within the liberty of the said burgh," were granted to the burgh and burgesses of Irvine. The grant was ratified in parliament on the 17th of November, 1641.

After the suppression of the convent at Greenside the buildings were probably tenantless until the 23rd of November, 1591, when they were converted by John Robertson, "a beneficent merchant," into a leper hospital, five of the inhabitants of the city being confined on that day. By turns, at the gate, day by day, a

[1] *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvii, p. 500.

leper sat silent, only ringing a clapper to solicit alms, which were dropped into his cup. The allowance granted to these unfortunates, restricted as they were, was miserable—only four shillings Scotch weekly to each inmate. Sometimes the leper's wives were known to sacrifice all to be with their stricken husbands, and some were to be found in this particular hospital. The method of soliciting alms here described was not universal. At Glasgow the lazar begged afar off in the street, near the gutter, with a cloth over his mouth and face, and a clapper to attract attention.

The Charity of the Church having passed away, only one means could be devised for the preservation of discipline in the lazar hospital of Greenside—FEAR. A gallows was erected at the gate, by the sight of which the lepers might be kept in awe. The halter was the penalty of opening the gate between dawn and sundown.

As has been said, the remains of St. Mary's, Queensferry, may still be seen. The church, which is almost complete, may be examined by those who delight to trace Gothic architecture.

Only the larger monastic houses and priories were handed over to the burgesses. Among the smaller houses, however, there were "no despicable pickings." These were handed over to "Lay Commendators," usually some member of a noble or influential family, in return for services rendered or to be expected. In this way the Carmelite convent of Queensferry, the only Carmelite building that survived the Reformation, became the property of "Dundas of that Ilk." It is still in a fair state of repair.

Having struggled on to the year 1564, the Scottish Province ceased to exist. The last attempt to revive it was at Queensferry, but it was found impossible to exist in an almost entirely Protestant district, and it was abandoned.

CHAPTER XXIII

STATISTICS AND GENERAL NOTES

Father Zimmerman, O.D.C., supplied the following statistics to the Catholic Encyclopoedia (111-354a) in the year 1908:

"At the present time there are about 80 convents of the Calced Carmelite Friars, with about 800 members, and 20 convents of nuns; 130 convents of Discalced Carmelite Friars, with about 1,900 members; the number of convents of nuns, including the French previous to the passing of the Association law, was 360."

Since then the original Carmelite Order—the Calced Carmelites—has come yearly into greater prominence, and the number of convents and friars has increased immensely in the last decade. Up to about ten years ago the brand of the Penal Laws was still upon it in Ireland, and progress was very slow. Then a new spirit, a spirit of enthusiastic youthfulness, seemed suddenly to possess it, and present indications seem to promise a return to the greatness and splendour of the golden age of its history before a grasping tyrant laid its monasteries in the dust and cast its sons out penniless and hopeless on the highways of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Indeed, so remarkable has been its increase in numbers and in general achievement, especially in the domain of erudition, that one may well call it a revival, and hope that the days are not far off when the White Friars shall again be as well known and beloved, not only in Ireland but in

England, Scotland, and Wales, as they were in the pre-Reformation days.

In the recently published Supplement to the Catholic Encyclopoedia the statistics are given as follows:

"In 1918 there were 18 provinces and 112 convents of Calced Carmelite Friars, with about 2,800 members;[1] in 1913 there were 14 provinces and 3 semi-provinces with 172 convents and residences of the Discalced Carmelite Friars and about 1,900 religious."

In other words, in the ten years (1908-1918) the number of Calced Carmelite convents was increased by 32. In the years since 1918 the increase has been even more rapid still. Thus in the Irish Province alone (including the recently created Irish-American Commissariat, 28) there are 104 religious, with seven convents in Ireland, 3 in Australia, and 4 in and about New York.

The North American Province has 9 convents, with 83 members. This brings the total of English-speaking Calced Carmelites up to 187 members—a small number still, perhaps, but a considerable increase in a decade. Again, this rate of progress is general. The recently constructed International Carmelite College of San Alberto in Rome was soon overcrowded. To meet the demand, the Father General, Most Rev. P. E. Magennis, had a complete new storey added, but in less than twelve months the space was again overtaxed.

LITURGY AND CEREMONIAL

The liturgy and ceremonial still in use among the Carmelites is peculiar to the Order.

The Rule of Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, ordered that the Canonical Hours should be recited "secundum

[1] We believe this numerical estimate to be incorrect. There are scarcely more than 1,000

institutiones sanctorum Patrum, et Ecclesiae approbatam consuetudinem." But the approved custom of the Church was then the Rite of the Patriarchal Church of Jerusalem, *i.e.*, the Rite of the Holy Sepulchre; one of the most ancient known. Although some form of ritual development took place in the first three centuries of the Church, the chief movement, both towards unification and division, took place in the fourth century. We then find four main or parent Rites, viz., those of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Gaul. From the Antiochene Rite was evolved the Jerusalem Rite, also called St. James'. At various General Chapters, particularly that presided over by Nicholas Audet in 1466, a number of regulations on liturgical matters were passed and many changes effected. When the reform of the liturgy was undertaken by Pope St. Pius V in 1570 the Carmelite Ritual was revised in accordance with the restored Roman Rite. In imposing the latter on the universal Church the Pope made an exception for certain uses that had been in possession for at least two centuries, a privilege that saved the Carmelite use amongst others. Henceforth the power of the Fathers General and the General Chapters to alter the liturgy of the Order was withdrawn. Nevertheless, the course of time and circumstances of place effected some slight modifications, and we find now some traces of the Sarum Use in the Carmelite ceremonial, due, no doubt, to the paramount influence in the Middle Ages of the English Province. The Sarum Use was one of a variety of liturgical uses in England before the Reformation. These were in the main identical with the Roman Rite. The most important of them was the Sarum. It derives its name from the fact that St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (or Sarum) and Chancellor of England, compiled in 1085 the Missal, Breviary, and Ritual from various diocesan readings of the Roman Rite. The

use spread from the North of England, in slightly altered form, to the South of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In 1542 its observance was ordered throughout the entire province of Canterbury. The Book of Common Prayer, first issued in 1549, was compiled on the lines of this use and retains that form in the Church of England to the present. An interesting consequence is that whereas the Gospel read in the Sunday Masses differs in the Roman and Carmelite Missals, the same Gospel is read simultaneously in the Carmelite and Anglican churches.

Although the differences between the various Rites are most noticeable and best known where the ceremonies of the Missal are concerned, they are to be found also in the Ritual and the Breviary.

The chief points in which the ceremonial of the Carmelite Mass differs from the liturgy of the Roman Missal are as follows:

1. The psalm *Judica me Deus* is said coming to the altar, not at the foot thereof.

2. The wine and water are immediately put in the chalice, which is then prepared and covered.

3. The Mass is begun with a verse of the psalm *Confitemini.*

4. The Confiteor is proper and shorter: "I confess to Almighty God, to Blessed Mary, ever Virgin, to our Holy Father, Elias, and to all the saints, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, deed, and omission, through my fault. Therefore," etc.

5. The prayer "In spiritu humilitatis" always follows, instead of preceding, the washing of the fingers.

The Canon of the Mass is identical in both Rites.

6. During the first prayer after the elevation, *Unde et memores,* the priest stands with his hands outstretched fully in the form of a Latin cross.

7. During the prayer *Supplices te rogamus*, the celebrant crosses his arms at the elbows, and inclines profoundly.

8. The words said before his own Communion by the celebrant are remarkable and peculiar to the Sarum Rite. There are two forms, of which that in use among the Carmelites is: "Hail, Thou Saviour of the World, Word of the Father, Sacred Victim, Living Flesh, wholly God, and true Man."

9. After the blessing the Salve Regina is said kneeling, except on Sundays when, in honour of the Resurrection of Our Lord, it is recited standing. This addition was ordered by the General Chapter of 1324.

The Carmelite Breviary differs very materially from the Roman Breviary, especially since the revision of recent years, which the Order was left free to reject. The feasts, therefore, are retained as of old, and many of those in the old Roman Breviary give place to those of saints of the Order and other feasts proper to it. On the other hand, the calendar of saints follows the Roman Calendar in the main. The arrangement of the psalms is also different. A distinctive note of the Carmelite liturgy is devotion to the Blessed Mother of God. Since 1324 the Salve Regina is recited in the Divine Office after every canonical hour. Although no Octaves are permitted in Lent the Carmelites have the privilege of celebrating the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin with an Octave. Before the *Usus Romanae Curiae* was spread by the Franciscans over the entire Church the eighteen (or twenty-four) psalms of the regular Sunday Matins were, three by three, distributed over the Matins of Easter Week. This observance is still one of the peculiarities of the Carmelite Breviary. Again, the solemn Second Vespers for Easter Sunday is of very ancient origin. The Carmelites, as well as a number of French dioceses,

Paris, Lyons, Besancon, Chartres, Laval, and others, have retained these solemn Easter Vespers, opening with the nine *Kyrie Eleisons* and the *Victimae Paschali* as in the Easter Mass.

The Carmelite Ceremonial is very elaborate and very beautiful. This is true, especially, of the Christmastide and of Holy Week where the liturgy is carried out fully.

The *Menologium* (meaning a month) is a book arranged according to the months of the year, and recording in the briefest form, that of a memorandum, details of the lives of the saints. The word is used to-day as synonymous with Martyrologium. "The earliest printed work of this kind," writes Father Thurston, S.J., "is possibly that which bears the title 'Menologium Carmelitanum,' compiled by the Carmelite, Saracenus, and printed at Bologna in 1627; but this is not arranged day by day, in the order of the ecclesiastical year, and it does not include members of the Order yet uncanonized." Whereas the section arranged for each day is usually read in the refectory at meals, its proper place, in the Carmelite Ritual, is in Prime, immediately after the first Oratio.

In the Dublin house of the Order, Whitefriars Street, there are preserved some wonderful old tomes of immense proportions. Some of them stand two feet high or more, and are several hundred years old. The leaves are of a thick parchment. The lines are ruled in red, the notes in black. Each note is about three-eighths of an inch square. The colouring of these notes and lines, but above all, of the beautifully illuminated initial letters, is wonderfully preserved and as true as on the day they left the hands of the artist friars. The printing of the wording is extraordinarily exact, considering it was all done by hand. The foundation of the binding is boards of ¾ inch thickness.

These are covered by some fine leather, whilst the corners are protected by ornamental metal work. They are the antiphonaries, and contain all the antiphons and responsories, for the year, together with their musical setting, Gregorian chant, of course. They serve to prove that the old Carmelites were not behind the monks in point of artistic skill. The music is, in places, exceedingly beautiful, especially that set for Holy Week, which is supplied not merely for the antiphons, the ordinary versicles and responses, but also for those after the lessons.

CONSTITUTIONS

In accordance with a decree requiring all the religious Orders to revise their Constitutions, and bring them into line with the new code of the Canon Law, the Carmelites are doing so at the moment. Lest any considerable changes might be effected, we refrain from giving any synopsis of them.

RECENT CALCED CARMELITE BEATI

Some of the more recent " Beati " have been dealt with in the text. We will only add here the names of the two latest Calced Carmelites to have that high honour conferred on them.

Blessed Bartholomew Fanti. Bartholomew was born at Mantua. In answer to persistent prayers to the Holy Ghost he felt himself at last called to the religious life, and at the age of seventeen he joined the Order at the convent of Mantua. He exhibited the greatest patience in adversity and humility in times of prosperity. Always rigorous towards himself, he was the soul of kindliness where others were concerned.

That he might win souls to God he never spared himself as priest or preacher, ever striving to win his audiences to true devotion to God and His Holy Mother, the two sources of every great good. He was most devoted to the Blessed Eucharist and spent entire nights and days in intense prayer and penitential tears before the Blessed Sacrament of the altar. God was so pleased with this devotion of His servant that He graced him with the power of miracles, and he wrought instant cures of the sick by anointing them with oil from the sanctuary lamp. The holy friar held many offices in the community, including that of Master of Novices, and among his disciples was Blessed Baptist Mantua. He died in the odour of sanctity on the 5th of December, 1495, and was laid to rest beside Baptist, who had predeceased him, in the convent chapel. In the year 1782, however, the Carmelite church in Mantua being destroyed, the remains of the two " Beati " were transferred first to the church of St. Mark, then after sixteen years, this also being destroyed, to the Cathedral. Bartholomew was beatified by Pope Pius X, himself once Bishop of Mantua, and his feast-day was determined for the 5th of December.

Blessed Nonius Alvarez Pereveira was the founder of an illustrious family. At the age of thirteen he was created a Knight in accordance with the elaborate ritual of the times. He took to wife a lady of the highest rank, and when she died he remained a widower. To a great skill in military science he added the science of the saints. Ever before going into battle he prayed fervently, fasted, and mortified his body in a variety of ways. This simple and pure-souled Knight was especially devoted to the Mother of God, in whose honour he built a church for the Carmelites out of the spoils of victory, and therein placed his sword. His banners were always decorated with a picture of the

Blessed Virgin. On the vigils of her feasts, and on all Saturdays throughout the year, even though it were the day on which an important battle was to be fought, he fasted on bread and water. His devotion to the Blessed Eucharist was also extraordinary, and he loved to spend large sums on the adornment of the sanctuary and for oil, candles, vestments and sacred vessels for use during the Holy Sacrifice. This saintly soldier went frequently to Holy Communion, a custom that was not as prevalent then as now, having previously spent long hours in preparation for the great act. Whenever he was quartered in a town for some time he invariably joined the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament there. At length, robed in an old tunic like a lay-brother, he sought admittance to the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in that capacity. So great was the humility of this eminent general of armies and man of the world that he persistently refused to be ordained to the priesthood, deeming himself wholly unworthy of that most holy calling. Instead, he sought all the meanest offices. He fasted three days in the week, and rejoiced greatly when the opportunity offered of serving as acolyte at two or three Masses in the day. He rose in the middle of the night to give himself up to prayer. After seven years of religious life he was forewarned by the Blessed Virgin of the day of his death, and, henceforth, his thoughts and his time were for God alone. Whilst reading the story of the sacred Passion of our Divine Lord according to St. John, and having come to the words, " Son, behold thy mother," he died without a struggle in the year of our Lord, 1431. He was beatified by our late Holy Father, Pope Benedict XV, and his feast-day set for the 6th of November.

We append a complete list of Carmelite saints, with their titles and feast-days.

COMPLETE LIST OF SAINTS AND BEATI OF THE CARMELITE ORDER

Name	*Title*	*Feast Day*
Saint Dionysius	Pope and Confessor	January 19th
,, Anastasius	Martyr	,, 22nd
,, Cyril of Alexandria	Bishop, Confessor and Doctor	,, 28th
,, Andrew Corsini	Bishop and Confessor	February 4th
,, Euphrosyna	Virgin	,, 12th
,, Telesphorus	Pope and Martyr	,, 13th
,, Peter-Thomas	Bishop and Martyr	,, 14th
,, Avertanus	Confessor	,, 25th
,, Cyril of Constantinople	Confessor and Doctor	March 6th
,, Euphrasia	Virgin	,, 13th
,, Berthold	Confessor	,, 29th
,, Albert	Confessor	April 8th
,, Angelus	Martyr	May 5th
,, Simon Stock	Confessor	,, 16th
,, Mary Magdelene de Pazzi	Virgin	,, 25th
,, Eliseus	Prophet, Founder	June 14th
,, Elias	Prophet, First Founder	July 20th
,, Albert	Confessor	August 7th
,, Brocard	Confessor	September 2nd
,, Gerard	Bishop and Martyr	,, 26th
,, Teresa of the Child Jesus	Virgin	,, 30th
,, Teresa	Virgin	October 15th
,, Hilarion	Abbot	,, 21st
,, Serapion	Bishop and Confessor	,, 30th
,, John of the Cross	Confessor	November 24th
,, Spiridion	Bishop and Confessor	December 14th
Blessed Archangela Girlani	Virgin	February 6th
,, Jacobinus	Confessor	March 3rd
,, Romaeus	Confessor	,, 4th
,, Louis Morbidus	Confessor	,, 15th
,, Baptist Mantua	Confessor	,, 24th
,, Joanna of Toulonse	Virgin	April 12th
,, Aloysius Babata	Confessor	May 11th

Name	*Title*	*Feast Day*
Blessed Anna of Saint Bartholomew	Virgin	June 7th
,, Joanna Scopelli	Virgin	July 11th
,, Teresa and her companions	Virgins and Martyrs	,, 24th
,, John Soreth	Confessor	,, 28th
,, Angelus Augustinus Mazzinghus	Confessor	August 13th
,, Mary of the Incarnation	Matron	October 16th
,, Frances d'Amboise	Matron	November 5th
,, Nonius Pereira	Confessor	,, 6th
,, Dionysius of the Nativity and Redemptus a Cruce	Martyrs	,, 29th
,, Bartholomew Fanti	Confessor	December 5th
,, Francus	Confessor	,, 17th
,, Mary of the Angels	Virgin	,, 19th

It is almost certain that, could records have been kept, there would have been many names added to the list of Confessors and Martyrs:

1. Under the persecution of the Saracens in the Holy Land.
2. Under the Reformation in England, Ireland, Scotland, and elsewhere.
3. Under the French Revolution.

Indeed, the assertion is attributed to a saintly Pope, referring to the massacres on Mount Carmel: "The saints of the Carmelite Order are as numerous as the stars in the heavens."

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